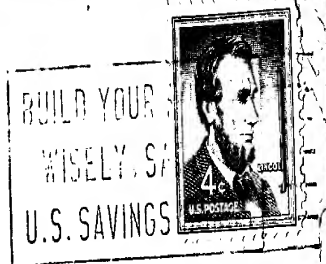


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Robert H. Welch Jr.
Belmont 78, Massachusetts



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ENCLOSURE

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Recent and current history
BRIEF REVIEW

RECORDED - 49
INDEXED 48

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

4936 30th Place

Washington 8, D. C.

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FEB 25 1957

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OFFICE OF DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TO

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Mr. Nichols	()
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Mr. Belmont	()
Mr. Mason	()
Mr. Mohr	()
Mr. Parsons	()
Mr. Rosen	()
Mr. Tamm	()
Mr. Holloman	()
Miss Gandy	()

See Me	()
Note and Return	()
Prepare Reply	()
For Your Recommendation	()
What are the facts?	()
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INDEXED 49

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We've Been Through College

Contrary to the impression we must frequently create, we are not trying to work our way through college by selling magazines. We spent many happy years playing tennis, poker, chess, and hookey at different colleges, several decades ago. Our purpose in soliciting subscriptions to ONE MAN'S OPINION is simply to reach as many readers as we can with some words of warning which we think are badly needed. When a wise political prophet said, more than a hundred years ago, that the twentieth century would be given over to a struggle between the United States and Russia for mastery of the planet, he had no conception of how far the United States would go in helping Russia to win.

We are sure that our articles will add little to the knowledge, and less to the happiness, of yourself or your friends. But we do honestly believe that they will, at times, add to your understanding of some of the puzzling developments in contemporary affairs, because of our insistence on finding the pieces that mesh and on putting those pieces together. And we refuse to throw away the experience of forty years, or all the earlier pages in the book, as a basis on which to judge the present and the future, every time the schemers in the Kremlin write a new page.

On the other side of this sheet is a letter which was mailed late last November to a small list of people who were not subscribers to this magazine. We hope it falls within the classification that the advertising fraternity calls "legitimate puffery". At any rate, it created enough favorable interest for us to want our subscribers also to read it. Despite the fact that the letter is now two months old, therefore, we are using it as backing (the pun is definitely intended) for this subscription form. As you can see, we are bound to guess right some of the time, so you had better subscribe. RW

Mr. Robert Welch
Belmont 78, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Welch:

Please enter my subscription to twelve issues of ONE MAN'S OPINION for which I enclose \$5.00

Please enter subscriptions for the names and addresses listed below, at \$5.00 each \$_____

To enable you to reach as many opinion-molders as possible, by your own selection of names from your own list, I am covering the cost for you to enter such subscriptions at \$5.00 each, by enclosing an additional \$_____

The total of my remittance is \$_____

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Robert H. Welch, Jr.
810 Main Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

November 26, 1956

Dear Reader:

May we blow our own horn for just three paragraphs? We promise to do so as quietly as possible.

In the November 10 issue of the Saturday Evening Post there is an article by Ernest O. Hauser on the Russian "New Look". Mr. Hauser comes to the conclusion that the defamation of Stalin has not been a defensive measure, on the part of Khrushchev and his cohorts, but one important piece in the pattern of an audacious new offensive against the West.

In the issue of ONE MAN'S OPINION which was mailed early in September we said the same thing, outlined the most important other pieces in this pattern of deception, and -- with regard to the attack on Stalin -- devoted many paragraphs to showing that "the key to this action is not its defensive value But the explanation lies in the great positive value in a continuing offensive."

Recently Mr. Aidan Crawley, famous commentator of the British Broadcasting Corporation, devoted his program to the thesis that Malenkov is still the all-powerful directing force behind the scenes in Moscow. This suggestion is now being brought forward in other quarters.

Three months ago we set forth, in ONE MAN'S OPINION, several pages of facts and arguments to support our surmise that "since the death of Stalin Georgi Malenkov has been, still is, and for an indefinite future will be, the absolute dictator of the whole Communist world."

The anti-Communist powers in Europe are now convinced, by tangible and documentary evidence, that Nasser is not just an ambitious opportunist, seeking to advance his interests by any means that happen to come to hand from any source; but that he is, instead, a definite and completely controlled agent of the Kremlin.

We have been saying this, however, for months. As far back as last April, in ONE MAN'S OPINION, we wrote: "Colonel Nasser has put himself and his country completely under the thumb of the Kremlin, even to the extent of spearheading some of the Kremlin's diplomatic and propaganda efforts with Egypt's neighbors."

We could keep this list up for quite a while, to show why you should read ONE MAN'S OPINION. Yet we certainly do not claim to be prophets with regard to the actions of the Communist conspirators. And in every paragraph of our magazine we try to make clear whether we are stating facts, engaging in analysis, or merely offering a guess. But we do look at, and write about, the Communist conspiracy realistically. It is to do our part in strengthening a realistic attitude towards the menace and the progress of Communism that we are trying to reach as many readers as we can. If you would like to help with a subscription for a friend (or for yourself if not already a subscriber), a convenient form is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Robert H. Welch, Jr.

11/28/56
J. B. Brown

ONE MAN'S OPINION

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Some recent
and current history

IN BRIEF REVIEW

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AN INFORMAL REVIEW

Volume II Number 6

February - March 1957

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A PERSONAL PAGE

January 16, 1957

Dear Reader:

The first letter on this page, in the first issue of this magazine, was dated January 16, 1956. It does not seem like yesterday.

Always conscious of the inescapable suggestion of vanity in any one-man publication, we have worked very hard — on top of other heavy responsibilities — to make the contents of ONE MAN'S OPINION justify its existence. For the encouragement we have received from many sources; for the letters, from hundreds of leaders in American public life, expressing interest in our analyses of persons and events; and for subscriptions from every state, from Alaska and Hawaii and Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, and from several foreign countries, we are deeply grateful.

One reason we gave, a year ago, for this unusual undertaking, was that the publishing pattern would enable us to write whatever we wished — whenever we wished and however we wished — without regard to the editorial problems, objections, or requirements of anybody else. And we are taking more advantage of that self-provided leeway in this number than in any previous issue. For it has seemed to us that the interrelation of some of the important events of the past two or three months, in the area of foreign affairs, has been too generally ignored; and that tying these events together in one continuous article offered our best chance of making some small contribution to our readers' understanding and appraisal of their significance.

In this number, therefore, we really offer you a pamphlet; and it may be a precedent for occasional deviations from normalcy in the future. But we expect to return to the regular format in the next issue; and as a general rule we shall continue to offer the same features which some of you, at least, tell us you have come to like and to expect. In the meantime, we hope you will take a look over our shoulder, in the following thirty-two pages, at some developments which should alarm you. And not all of the reason for alarm is just one man's opinion.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

ONE MAN'S OPINION — is edited by Robert Welch, and published by Robert Welch, Inc., Belmont 78, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

This is a one-man, now-and-then magazine, which usually appears at intervals of one to two months. Subscription rates are five dollars for twelve issues, in the United States and Canada; six dollars elsewhere. Individual copies, of current or back issues, are regularly available at two for one dollar. Please specify with which numbers subscriptions are to begin.

"One Man's Opinion"

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IN BRIEF REVIEW

VICE-PRESIDENT NIXON says that the Hungarian revolt dealt the Soviet empire a mortal blow from which it cannot recover. Holmes Alexander tells his huge newspaper audience that Soviet power has fallen sprawling on its face, and will not be able to get up again. In London, columnist Alexandre Metaxas writes, in the same vein, of "the twilight of the Soviet system".

Of course the man who said it all first, for what turned out to be a world-wide audience, and who went to jail for doing so, was Milovan Djilas, the former vice-president of Yugoslavia. His article to that effect, first published in the November 19, 1956 issue of the *New Leader*, was promptly reprinted in other magazines and newspapers in this country, England, France, West Germany, Norway, Sweden, India, and Japan. So the idea did not originate in the West. But whether Mr. Nixon, Mr. Alexander, or Mr. Metaxas was aware that he was quoting Djilas, almost verbatim, is neither clear nor important. For many other outstanding patriots and experienced observers, English and American, are daily proclaiming that the uprisings in Central Europe marked the beginning of the end of the Soviet tyranny. And we hope, as earnestly as Mr. Nixon himself, that they are right.

But we do not believe it. We believe it is exactly the disarming conclusion that the Communists have wanted us to reach. We believe that precisely the opposite is true. And we believe that in such wishful thinking lies grave and imminent danger to our country. We are ourselves more frightened today than ever before by what seems to us to be the steady, unmistakable, and accelerating progress of the Communist conspiracy towards total subjugation of our

already half-conquered planet.

Of course we can be entirely wrong. The true balance sheet of the Kremlin at any given time, as to both moral and material assets and liabilities, like the true purpose of the Kremlin in any given action, is always hidden under multiple layers of deliberate and diversified confusion. We do not claim any X-ray type of intelligence, that can look through this excelsior of confusion to the realities buried deep inside. But we do scrutinize whatever we can see on the surface, and whatever we can reach through patient digging, with eyes and judgment made coldly objective by past experience. And in this article we are asking you also to note and consider, without rose-colored glasses, a few of the stones that fit so neatly into the foundation of our fear.

Some of the paragraphs and pieces of our brief review will not, in the beginning, appear to fall into any connected pattern that justifies anxiety. If you have the patience to bear with us long enough, however, we think that a close relationship between all the images in the panorama will become self-evident in time. We also think that before you reach the last page some shadowy doubts, emanating from *your* mind, will begin to materialize as solid fear on the same foundation as our own.

II

THE PREPOSTEROUS PARADE

EARLY LAST SPRING President Gronchi of Italy was royally received and lavishly lionized in Washington. His was a "state visit", calling for — and getting — the official dining and wining of our president, the red-carpet treatment from other members of our government,

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and favorable publicity from our press. But here are some of the things that neither government nor press (with a few rare exceptions) told you about him.

Giovanni Gronchi had come to power in Italy through Communist support. At a time when the Kremlin's agents, from Chile to Canada or from England to Japan, were temporarily flying on a sweetness-and-good-fellowship beam, and were working to form united fronts wherever possible, Gronchi was an outstanding example of a collaborator with the Communists in forming such a united front to promote their purposes. The fulsome hospitality extended to Gronchi in the United States was strong encouragement to pro-Communist politicians in every country in Western Europe, and equally strong discouragement to anti-Communists everywhere. The American people were expected not to be aware of such "angles", nor to attach any sinister significance to the incident. Those expectations were fulfilled.

From Bad To Worse

Now any person or organization, even including our State Department, is entitled to a mistake once in a while. And if the boost for Gronchi had been just an isolated bad guess, it could be briefly lamented and soon forgotten. But the tragic importance of the episode arises from the fact that Gronchi's visit was so visibly a part of a deliberate and extensive program—to which there is no end in sight.

For next came "President" Sukarno of Indonesia. And almost as incredible as an invitation having been extended to him in the first place was the failure of our large-circulation newspapers to tell their readers about his record. While we cannot, in this setting, do more than touch on the high spots of that record,

we do want to run through it quickly—for two reasons. One is that Sukarno, we are afraid, is little known to most of our readers; and some familiarity with his history is necessary background for this discussion. The second reason is simpler and more dramatic. Sukarno has the distinction, rare even among his kind, of having been the implacable, vicious, and *outspoken* enemy of the United States, from the very beginning of his career, right *up to, during, and since* the time when he was running around this country as our guest.

Before World War II Sukarno was a Japanese troublemaker of small renown, working in close association with well-known Communists. He first comes to our serious attention as a very skillful tool of our enemy, Japan, during the three years of the war when Japanese forces are occupying the Netherlands East Indies. He is peddling to the natives of Java a line of malicious hatred of "imperialists", especially the Americans, the English, and the Dutch (but for some reason not including the Japanese!). One of the earliest pictures of Sukarno ever published shows him, on November 8, 1944, making a violent speech to the Javanese about the imperialist monsters. And his inflammatory efforts are successful enough to cause Roosevelt and Churchill to be burned in effigy by mobs in the capital city of Batavia.

At first this line fitted exactly into Japanese plans to indoctrinate the natives to fight on their side, against any attempted retaking of Indonesia by Allied forces. Then, as the Japanese became aware that they were losing the war, Sukarno's activities fitted equally well into their plans to leave behind them as much future trouble for the Allies as they could. Sukarno grew in their favor, and gained standing and experience for himself as a rabble-rouser,

throughout the three-year period. It was Sukarno who persuaded the Japanese authorities, against their better judgment and over the protest of their own occupation administrative officials, to throw *all* Dutch nationals into foul concentration camps; and to disgrace and humiliate these settlers and merchants and administrators, in every way possible, before the eyes of the formerly friendly native population. And two days after Japan surrendered, but before any Allied forces could reach Java or the Japanese troops could be evacuated, it was with the blessing and help of these Japanese occupation authorities that Sukarno and his Communist pal, Mohammed Hatta, set themselves up as "President" and "Vice-President", respectively, of the "Republic of Indonesia".

Since Holland itself had been occupied by the Germans all during the war, and had to have time to get its own house in order, it was still several weeks before even administrative officials of the Netherlands government began to arrive. But despite all of the Communist-inspired propaganda you may have read to the contrary, the Dutch were welcomed back to Indonesia with open arms. Especially in Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, and the other islands the restoration of Dutch rule was very popular. And even in Java, despite Sukarno's "army" and the huge stores of arms left him by the Japanese, he was compelled by the sheer weight of native opinion to contract his domain, and to be satisfied with trying to keep some foothold on the island as "Republican" territory. Even this base was saved for him by the British. For it happened to be British troops and ships that arrived first, to handle the Japanese evacuation. And the British, with their eternal flair for meddling and muddling compromise, persuaded the Dutch authorities

to give *de facto* recognition to Sukarno's government of the area he then actually occupied.

From this point on it is the same old story, to those who are familiar with Communist methods and activities in so many countries during the unsettled conditions of the post-war years. The Dutch were willing to go along with the temporary arrangement indicated above, because they had returned to Indonesia with some farsighted and generous plans of their own. They proposed a "United States of Indonesia", consisting of autonomous republican governments for the different islands, in which they were now willing for Sukarno's "Republic" in Java to be one of the states. The only tie to Holland was to be that these "United States of Indonesia", along with Holland itself, would form a commonwealth of nations under the same crown. This offer was so liberal, and so popular in the other islands, that Sukarno—like Mao Tse-Tung at approximately the same time, with regard to Chiang Kai-shek's proposed constitution for China—felt obliged to accept it "in principle". But he stalled so cleverly, frustratingly, and obstinately that it was never put into operation. Again like Mao in China, Sukarno knew what he really wanted, and what Moscow wanted and would, help him to get. Having been willing to deliver two million of his compatriots into Japanese hands for slave-labor military construction during the Japanese occupation, he certainly had no intention now of letting any consideration for the welfare of the Indonesian people stop him short of his ultimate goal.

For four years Sukarno and his guerrillas and agents kept the country in such turmoil that the Dutch had no opportunity to undo the damage and disruption caused by the Japanese, or to restore the economy and the daily lives of the

people to a normal peace-time basis. It was not just for Java that this was true, but also for the other islands. In January, 1946, for instance, Communists carried out the infamous "Pusa Revolution" in a part of Sumatra. They mercilessly slaughtered the propertied classes and their families, including the women and children. Then they held a "Congress", claiming to represent and rule all of Sumatra, at which members of Sukarno's "Republic" were official delegates. Similar uprisings, unsuccessful but terrifically destructive, were fomented elsewhere.

The Dutch could readily have put an end to these troubles by strong enough measures. At any time from the end of 1945 through 1948 they could easily have wiped out Sukarno and his terrorists entirely by military force. But they were kept from doing so by American diplomatic pressures, exactly as Chiang Kai-shek was kept from wiping out Mao's guerrillas, in 1946, through the truces forced on him by the Marshall Mission. And Sukarno had the additional help of the United Nations. Twice his marauding activities became so murderous that the Dutch instituted "police actions" to subdue them, for the protection of the native population. In the second of these actions they captured Sukarno and his whole "government", and interned the lot of them for months. But both times such a howl went up, from the "liberals" in the American government and in the United Nations, that the Dutch refrained from finishing the job. And the second time the United Nations crowd put on so much pressure that the Dutch released their prisoners.

And so, exactly as Mao, Sukarno won out in the end, and by very much the same means. There were unending riots and sabotage, and trouble-making infiltration into "non-Republican" territory. There was the same unceasing help

to these "anti-imperialists" from the American State Department. There was such distortion and suppression of the truth that even veteran correspondents couldn't believe it till they saw it with their own eyes. There was a mysterious plane accident near Bombay, early in 1949, which killed at one swoop thirteen American journalists who had just been to Indonesia, and who were about to tell what was really happening there. In the very scanty notes and despatches which these men had already forwarded before they were killed appear such typical statements as follow.

H. R. Knickerbocker: "The most disturbing single discovery made here was that the United Nations observers . . . came here with a thesis to uphold. The thesis was that the Dutch were always wrong; the Indonesian Republic was always right. Their reports coincide with this preconceived thesis."

Burton Heath (Pulitzer Prize winner): "Only two things have been established beyond doubt. One is that representatives of the State Department here actively resent the coming of American newspapermen, who almost unanimously condemn the State Department's Indonesian policy as a menace to American security.

"The other is that American and Australian junior officers, assigned as field observers for the United Nations, are convinced that their factual reports are being distorted before they are passed on to Washington, Canberra and Lake Success. They say it is useless to submit anti-Republican or pro-Dutch reports."

William H. Newton: "The purpose seems to be to force the facts to conform to whatever happens to be the policy of the U. S. State Department or the United Nations Security Council."

N. A. Barrows: "Certainly even the newcomer here cannot penetrate under

the surface without wondering why the picture given to the outside world is so often distorted and falsely emphasized."

There are plenty more in the same vein. But the very convenient "accident" prevented the enlightenment of American public opinion that Sukarno feared at the time. Perhaps it is unfair to note that the tragedy occurred in the realm of Sukarno's good friend Nehru. So you can consider that remark "stricken from the record", as the lawyers say, if you wish. But it is accurate and not unfair to mention that Nehru's very effective help to Sukarno, in other ways and on other occasions, was among those means we are listing by which Sukarno won his long struggle. Probably the most important of all the factors in bringing about that victory, however, was the help Sukarno received from the United Nations in that organization's condemning, handicapping, and harassing of the Dutch at every turn.

At long last the troubles, lies, frustrations, and pressures wore the Dutch out. Despite their wish to protect the other islands from Sukarno, they signed an agreement at The Hague, on December 27, 1949, whereby the Netherlands simply transferred its sovereignty to the "United Republic of Indonesia". It did so, under pressure of the governments of the "democracies", despite the fact that at least three-fourths of the inhabitants of the area involved were bitterly opposed to the transfer and protested vigorously against it. Then, also at long last, Sukarno was able to go to work at making himself really the ruler of Indonesia. For whereas, in the theory of even this final agreement, his Javanese "republic" was supposed to be only one state among equals in the "United Republic", Sukarno knew and the Dutch knew and everybody else knew this was merely a fatuous concession to appearances.

We cannot spare the room to detail the tactics and means Sukarno has used to establish and nail down his dictatorship, especially over the other islands. We cannot pause to demonstrate the meaninglessness of those few "democratic" forms and processes of government which he has still preserved for show. Nor, since Sukarno, like Nehru, denies that he is a Communist, can we stop here for adequate documentation of our belief otherwise. But on this last point let us at least give you a *sample* of the evidence that is available.

Sukarno has always used Communist methods in all of his activities. He boasts of being a disciple of Karl Marx and has said that the youth of the "Socialist Party" (headed by a Communist named Sjahrir) were expected to put Marx's theories into practice. He has encouraged Communist propaganda in the barracks of his army. He has associated closely with Communists all of his adult life; and since he came to power he has surrounded himself and filled his government with Communists. For at least twenty years he has glorified the Soviet Union as a model state on every feasible occasion. At the end of the war, in 1945, he telegraphed Stalin, congratulating him, expressing Sukarno's admiration for the Soviet system, and voicing his confidence in the ultimate attainment of Russian aspirations. When his new "republic" was invited to join the United Nations in 1950, at a time when the Russian member of the Security Council happened to be staying away in a pretended huff (for a very sinister real reason that we have frequently discussed elsewhere), Sukarno refused to join until that Russian delegate had returned to the Council. He has been willing, and allowed, to use detachments of Chinese Red Army soldiers, who had been indoctrinated and trained in Mao Tse-tung's armies, to overcome resis-

tance to his régime in areas hostile to his Jakarta government. He has been willing and able to get an increasing amount of help of every kind from Moscow. And since he has been the head of an officially recognized government, the consolidation of his power and increasing assurance of his personal position have been steadily followed by more and more open adherence to the Communist bloc. If Sukarno is not today a direct agent of the Kremlin he will certainly do until one comes along.

The Great Man Comes

A very revealing book, *Inside The State Department*, was recently published. Its author, Bryton Barron, himself a career man in the department for more than a quarter of a century, was forced out because of his unwillingness to distort historical records and otherwise help to maintain the historical blackout concerning American foreign policy of the past twenty years. In this book Barron builds quite a case for blaming the combination of treason, misguided idealism, and stupidity, still prevalent and dangerously effective in the department, on holdovers of the Alger Hiss school from previous administrations.

To what extent the continued and increasing pampering of Moscow's "neutralist" stooges since 1952 can be blamed on these entrenched sympathizers and their influence, we do not know. The fact remains that by the spring of 1956 — it is perhaps uncharitable but certainly not inaccurate to say — the State Department was licking Sukarno's hand. (As witness John Foster Dulles' fanciful public statement, on March 14, 1956, that Indonesia was heading for nationhood "in much the same manner as did the United States".) And the more Sukarno has blasted the United States and the "imperialist" countries,

the more ingratiating and solicitous we have become towards him.

So, in May, 1956, our government received Sukarno, with tremendous acclaim, as the honored head of a friendly nation. Not only was he fêted at the White House, allowed to speak before the Congress, and given a triumphal tour of the whole country, but his was actually the longest "state visit" in our nation's history. It lasted nineteen days. At that very time Sukarno's Communist goon squads, using arms supplied them by the Soviet and ourselves, were waging murderous and destructive war on the Spice Islands — the stronghold of Christianity in the South Pacific, and our most completely unswerving friends and allies in that area during the past two decades.

Of course the great majority of the American people didn't know anything about Sukarno, or the several hundred "cultural attachés" of the Soviet that were in Indonesia helping him to run his government. They were not expected to know. But all officialdom in Asia knew and watched with amazement the way our government took this Kremlin puppet to its breast. It was horrified and vastly disheartening amazement on the part of anti-Communist leaders in Asia, but rapturous amazement on the part of the Communists.

Immediately on leaving our shores Sukarno reported to Moscow. He then went on a tour of other countries to tell them, among other things, what a hero he had been in America; and to impress on Communists and anti-Communists alike the visible fact that the surest road to regal treatment, in and by Washington, is to follow the Communist line. In Peiping, where Sukarno outdid himself to dampen any feeling of the enslaved mainland Chinese that they could ever hope for help from the United States, he also delivered this typical outburst:

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"The Chinese people are building a new society in which independence, justice, prosperity and happiness are ensured. I witness with my own eyes how the entire Chinese people uphold Mao Tse-tung's government, love Mao Tse-tung. We are friends, because we are comrades-in-arms against imperialism. Let us march on side by side. Surely the time will come when the whole world will recognize the Chinese People's Republic."

Never Ending Hypocrisy

Rides Unchecked . . .

Sukarno's high regard for Mao Tse-tung is quite understandable. They are both members of the same lodge and — to do a little misquoting of a famous misquotation — a kindred feeling makes us wondrous kind. There are three differences, however, in their positions in the lodge.

First, Mao is a few years ahead of Sukarno, in the firmness and reach of the tentacles of dictatorship they have established over their respective realms. Even in their personal spots, as viceroys of the Kremlin, Mao seems to have no such reason to fear Chou En-lai as Sukarno may have to fear his close associate, Mohammed Hatta. The Moscow control has not yet reached the monolithic rigidity in Indonesia that it has in Communist China.

Second, Sukarno is able to present quite a different appearance of his position and actions, from the one Mao can present, to the outside world. This is because Moscow became smart enough, some five or six years ago, to begin to develop its top agents as "neutralists" instead of recognized subordinates, and their countries as "neutralist" nations instead of recognized satellites. The new policy fitted much more cleverly, in many ways, into their strategy for the last half of their conquest of the world.

Third, because Indonesia had eighty

million inhabitants against six times that number in China, and because of many other factors which determined their relative importance in English and American minds, far greater attention was given to Mao's rise to power than to that of Sukarno. Mao's crimes and cunning are so well known to the people of the United States that not even this administration — yet — would dare invite him to be the guest of our nation. Sukarno's equal crimes and cunning, and even his Communist bonds, were just unopened history to the American public. So the "holdovers", or somebody, could get away with promoting his visit.

The difference between Mao's position and Sukarno's position that concerns us here, however, is the façade of neutralism. Among the obvious advantages of this fraud was that it gave the Communist sympathizers in our government, and the misguided do-gooders around them to whom they could sell their schemes as plausible, the opportunity to pour money and aid of every kind into such "neutralist" areas, and to help in every way possible to build up the prestige of the "neutralist" leaders. The argument was that we had to help them even more than Moscow, so that they could be "independent" of Moscow; and try to persuade them, by always turning the other cheek, "to see our point of view." The current procession of state visitors we are now discussing has been one result of that clever policy. And the next guest in that procession was J. Nehru — the Kremlin's viceroy for India, with the official contemporary title of prime minister. Mr. Nehru has just given our president the "privilege and honor" — President Eisenhower's own description of the event — of receiving him at the White House like a long-lost brother. Fortunately for our present purpose, this visitor was already far better known, at least as to the out-

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ward shell which he presents to the world, than was his immediate predecessor. So we do not have to give him so much lineage. But we hope you will come along while we take a brief look *inside Nehru* nevertheless.

In 1927 Jawaharlal Nehru was thirty-eight years old. The son of a famous lawyer, who had long been prominent in Indian political life, Jawaharlal was himself a graduate of the English preparatory school, Harrow, and of Cambridge University. Presumably he was old enough, and educated enough, to know what he was doing.

In February of that year Nehru attended a meeting in Brussels of a *Congress of Oppressed Nationalities*. His most fulsome biographer, Jagat Bright, dismisses the unsavory origins and character of the organization with the offhand phrase, "Some Communists were back of it." Actually it was a thinly disguised Communist front. Among its leading lights, besides Nehru himself, were Romain Rolland, Madame Sun Yat-sen, Albert Einstein, and Mohammed Hatta — that same Indonesian Communist whom we met in the last section, who was later to become Sukarno's "vice-president". In the course of this meeting a "League Against Imperialism" was formed, with practically the same *dramatis personae*, and with Nehru as vice-president. Its slogan was: "Oppressed of the world, unite." The "imperialists", whom this league was against, did *not* include Russia; the "oppressed of the world", whom the league's founders had in mind, did *not* include the virtually enslaved Russian people.

In fact, from this Congress Nehru went directly to Russia for a long visit. The same biographer sums up Nehru's attitude as follows: "He turned inevitably with good will towards communism. For whatever its faults, it was at

least not hypocritical and not imperialistic." Nehru himself, on his return to India, wrote a glowing account of his visit, with praise for almost everything he saw. He had only admiration for the aims of the Communists, and for the general framework of communist existence. He was bitter about the hostility of the "imperialist" nations to the Soviet. "It is only the rigidity of the British government," he said, "that seeks to encircle and strangle Russia." And he was rapturous over the way the land in Russia had been taken from its horrid owners and given to the peasants! This book, although first published in 1929, was reprinted in Bombay in 1949, obviously with Nehru's approval.

In 1929 Nehru, at the Lahore Session of the Indian Congress of which he was president, reiterated his faith in "socialism". There would be to begin with, he said, control of the key industries. And the land would be given to the peasants.

In 1936, in his autobiography, after denying that he is a communist, Nehru writes: "But still I incline more and more towards a communist philosophy." Further along in the same book he says: "The success or failure of the Russian social experiments do not directly affect the validity of the Marxian theory. It is conceivable, though it is highly unlikely, that a set of untoward circumstances or a combination of powers might upset those experiments. But the value of those mighty social upheavals will still remain. With all my instinctive dislike for much that has happened there, I feel that they offer the greatest hope to the world." And this, it should be noted, was after Stalin had literally killed by deliberate starvation three million human beings in the Ukraine, because of their resistance to collectivization of their small, peasant-owned farms.

Up to the time of the Katyn Wood murders, probably the foulest of all the

crimes and most cruel of all the atrocities, perpetrated in carrying out Stalin's orders, occurred during the so-called Civil War in Spain. All the way from shooting, in cold blood, idealistic American youngsters who had been sucked into a game they did not understand, the minute those youngsters wanted to withdraw; through physical torture of individuals that would have made the Assyrians turn their heads; to the burning of churches with their congregations herded inside, and other horrible forms of mass murder; the Communists ran the gamut of savagery, in this rehearsal for more important performances to come. And if any reader thinks this is an exaggeration, we'll be glad to name for him the books in which he can get all the documentation, in both text and photographs, that his stomach can take. This deliberate use of the most terroristic methods of irregular warfare was open, extensive, and long continued. Yet Nehru, after visiting Spain in 1938, was referring to these Communist butchers who had come into Spain to take it over, when he spoke ecstatically of "Passionaria, the great woman leader, and other heroes of the dying republic"; and when, on his return to India, he sent them a shipload of food as an appreciation of their heroic struggle "to keep up the spirit of democracy in the face of heavy odds."

Nor has there been any change in Nehru's philosophy, or attitude, over the years, except for his steadily drawing closer to Moscow since Indian independence was achieved and he no longer needed to keep this attachment so much under cover. In the biography to which we have already referred, Jagat Bright gives vent to his hero worship of Nehru with this: "He was a socialist and a communist even at the age of five, believing in the equal distribution of wealth and property." Which is tommy-

rot as to what Nehru believed at five, but quite revealing as to what his biographer admired him for believing in 1946, when Nehru was fifty-seven years old, and when this book was published.

It might still be possible to conceive of Nehru as an unworldly, idealistic Indian mystic and philosopher, with merely an unfortunate blind spot in the window of his soul that looks out on communism and the Communists — but for two things. The first is the extreme practicality and political astuteness of his varied actions in furtherance of the Kremlin's purposes during these last many years. The second is on the esoteric side, but perhaps tells us even more. For Nehru's close associates know that the man in history he admires most, as both a statesman and an author, is Kautilya. And it is worth one paragraph, anyway, to see what this means.

Kautilya Chanakya, who helped the founder of the Mauryan dynasty to intrigue, fight, deceive, betray, and murder his way to a throne, and then to stay on it in a "gilded jail" for twenty-four years, is known as the Indian Machiavelli. And his one book, the *Arthashastra*, is the Indian counterpart — and by some eighteen hundred years the predecessor — of Machiavelli's *Il Principe*. The unabashed and emphatic thesis of both books is that cunning, however treacherous, coldbloodedness, no matter how merciless, and crimes, however foul, are positive virtues in the conduct of the ruler of a state — or of one who aspires thereby to become a ruler — if those characteristics are used to advance the interests of the state. Both books glorify unscrupulousness in a ruler much as the Spartans glorified bravery. And Kautilya's masterpiece stresses insistently that the end justifies any means — thus establishing the key to current Communist conduct more than twenty-two hundred years ahead

of Lenin. It may also give the key to Jawaharlal Nehru. And the fact that he frankly admits to those around him that he admires the *Arthashastra* so much may be his way of telling subordinates what his true purposes are and what he really expects of them, despite whatever persiflage of noble sentiments he spouts for public consumption.

To drop all the way from the ethereal upper regions to the solid earth, however, in sizing up Nehru, a very old illustration seems to be in order. Thirty years ago here was an animal that considered itself a tiger, associated regularly and actively with other tigers, and was accepted by them as a leader among tigers. Since then this animal has never ceased to look like a tiger, act like a tiger, spring like a tiger, roar like a tiger, smell like a tiger, or side with the tigers in all their raids on the lambs. What possible basis do we have for the straining and hopeful assumption that the animal might be a lamb today, acting the way it does merely because it is afraid of the other tigers?

In more direct language, not only was Nehru a communist in philosophy and a close associate and admirer of Communists in action, thirty years ago, but since then he has never ceased to praise the Communists, vote for the Communists, and forward Communist causes by all practicable means on all suitable occasions. What's more, Nehru has continuously directed his pro-Communist energies against the United States as the chief target of his enmity — as any good Communist would. On March 27, 1953 he voted with the Soviet block in demanding that the United Nations hear charges that the United States had used germ warfare in Korea. As David Lawrence has pointed out, "his behavior in the Korean armistice negotiations could not have been any more partisan in behalf of the Soviets

if he had represented them directly." (One advantage to Moscow of having "neutralist" satellites was that they could pose as, and get designated as, "neutrals" in such situations.) He has worked energetically with the Soviet in every effort to have Red China admitted to the United Nations. He refused to join in the U. N. "condemnation" of the Soviet actions in Hungary. And these are but typical examples from a long unbroken record of vicious anti-Americanism, and of identifying himself unmistakably as a Soviet man-Friday.

Nehru's equivalent of Mao's Chou En-lai, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, has been almost as long and as openly devoted to the Communist Party as Chou En-lai himself. Krishna Menon helps Nehru to throw all the influence of themselves and their government onto the Communist side of every international issue. Inside India Nehru's daughter, Indira, whom he has made a leading politician, who clearly speaks for her father, and who accompanied him on his American visit, has publicly said of the Communist Party: "In Russia the party has impressed on people what it's doing for them. The sooner we do it, the better for us."

Nehru's apologists make much of the fact that he brutally suppressed some local Communists in Hyderabad who were getting out of hand. Sukarno's supporters likewise point out that he and his forces fought first on one side and then on the other, in the factional strife between two different groups of Communists in Java — while Sukarno was thus establishing himself as the boss Communist of them all. In neither case is the argument against either man being a Communist worth even these few lines to refute it, in the face of such overwhelming evidence otherwise. For there has not been one Communist ruler of any area, from Stalin himself

through Mao and Tito to Rakosi and Ho Chi-minh, who has not murdered, suppressed, and stigmatized other Communists in acquiring his power or maintaining it. And Moscow loves the boys who climb to the top in such struggles by such means. They have what it takes.

There is no valid justification for anybody in our government to assume that Nehru is today anything but a direct conscious agent of Moscow, dedicated to the destruction of America and to the world-wide victory of Communism. But he was invited to pay us a "state visit", was given millions of dollars worth of free publicity in our press and over the air, and was treated — for the world to observe — with all the respect and cordiality due to a great friend and ally. The excuse was that by making this tiger welcome to roam at will in the sheep pasture, we would convert him to the lamb's point of view. But of course not all of those who advance that excuse are dumb enough to believe it.

From Jodhpurs To Brass . . .

Last May that excellent weekly, *Human Events*, reported that Sukarno would be followed by Nehru in this series of state visits; that Marshal Tito would be next in line; and that finally, if by that time the resistance of the American people had been sufficiently weakened, Khrushchev and Bulganin themselves would get the invitation they had been seeking. The White House clique, the State Department, or *somebody*, had planned it that way.

From the collaborator, Gronchi, to the little-known "neutralist", Sukarno, to the widely-known "neutralist", Nehru, to the "independent" Communist, Tito, to the official and theoretical heads of the Russian Soviet government itself; these are, or were to have been, the easy stages by which powerful forces *somewhere* in our government showed

the American people and the rest of the world that the "good old Joe" complex still prevailed in Washington, that Communists were just like anybody else except more deserving of our friendship, and that more and better Yaltas could regularly be expected.

For obvious political reasons there was a break in this parade of the captains and kings of Communism to our shores, from June until after the elections. But not long after; Mr. Nehru arrived in December, white riding breeches and all. There are millions of Asiatics whom Nehru wishes to reach, with the kind of propaganda provided him by his American visit, to whom a picture is literally worth ten thousand words because of their illiteracy. So he has skillfully made of the sloppy white pants (called *churidar* in their Kashmir habitat) a trademark by which he can readily be recognized in any photograph. And the cleverly contrived, brilliantly posed, picture of himself, wreathed in smiles, rushing up the White House steps and practically into the arms of an equally friendly and smiling Eisenhower, who was coming out the White House door to greet him — that picture alone was worth as much to the world-wide Communist parties as if America had started dropping bombs on Bangkok and Baghdad.

But he got a great deal more out of his trip than just pictures, no matter how valuable. To put Mr. Nehru in the proper mood when he paid us this visit, our government recently gave him — pardon us, sold him — six hundred and fifty-two million dollars' worth of wheat, cotton, rice, and other farm products. At least, that is the price our government had paid for the merchandise. We sold it to Nehru for \$360 million, on paper. Out of that \$360 million we are giving him back \$54 million as an undisguised gift. We are allowing

a "long-term credit" for \$234 million of it. And the remaining 72 million dollars, all Nehru is actually paying for this 652 million dollars' worth, we are taking from India in goods we are to give away in other parts of the world. Those members of our government who are knowingly and actively trying to spend us into bankruptcy can chalk up a pretty goodsized notch for themselves on that deal. But please do not talk too loud about it until Mr. Nehru's boys have finished their negotiations for some long term "loans" in real money. It is to be used towards paying the ten billion dollars' estimated cost of India's new five-year plan, which started last April.

In the meantime the boss himself, having come from conversations with Chou En-lai directly to America, has rushed back to New Delhi to receive another immediate visit from Chou. But there was another reason why Nehru had to be on his way. That was, in order not to have the next guest, Marshal Tito, treading too closely on his heels. From gazing at sloppy pants we are now to be treated to epaulettes and shining medals. Just so that these "state visits" are paid us by top-ranking stars in the Communist galaxy, the uniform doesn't matter. And it has already been announced that we are giving, or ought to give — the trial balloon was a bit vague — some more jet planes and other harmless toys to Tito, in advance of his coming, to show *him* the cordial nature of our hospitality and to put him in the proper mood to enjoy it.

Of course there has already been some vigorous objection voiced, even by Congressmen, to our honoring this butcher-tyrant as our guest; and some slight alterations or postponements in the plans may be deemed advisable. But sooner or later the Administration will have its way, and Marshal Tito will be

royally welcomed in Washington; his bosses in the Kremlin have seen to it that he showed just enough phony independence and went through just enough motions of "Titoism", during the recent troubles in Central Europe, to give Washington a pretext for the gesture.

Whether even our State Department will have the gall to try later to bring Khrushchev and Bulganin over here for a visit, as intended, is another matter. We venture the guess that they may settle for President Eisenhower's old "pal-in-arms", Marshal Zhukov, instead. And since Zhukov now has the exalted official title of Defense Minister of the U. S. S. R., that visit ought to serve the purposes of both "State" and the Kremlin reasonably well.

We must repeat from earlier articles, it seems to us worth repeating over and over, that the Kremlin gangsters thrive and make progress on prestige and the aura of success, far more than on what they ever gain by tanks or bullets. Their military might, starting at the end of World War II as pure bluff, becomes increasingly a more real threat every year; and it is now sometimes used, as it was in Hungary. But their diplomatic self-aggrandizement, and the crafty fabrication of influence and standing for their political agents, continues unceasingly with tremendous success. Yet there are people who wonder why we are losing the cold war. Even if neither Tito nor Zhukov finally get here, a part of the answer as to why we have been losing it up to now ought to be obvious in the parade that has gone by. Instead, it does not seem to be obvious, to enough Americans, that we *are* losing it — or how rapidly and disastrously that loss increases.

This is, we believe, quite largely because they never see the picture whole, nor put enough of the pieces of the

puzzle together at one time for the overall effect to stare them in the face. This is why we needed to put on the canvas one wide swath of the background at home, before starting to paint in some of the scenes abroad. All of which now brings us to a second series of events in the fast-moving history of recent months.

III

THE SUEZ FIASCO

LET'S IMAGINE Georgi Malenkov, or whoever is the real boss behind the scenes at the Kremlin, recounting the success of his brilliant planning to Bulganin, Khrushchev, Zhukov and the rest of his front men in the Politburo. His report would go something like this.

"The results of *Operation Suez* are entirely up to expectations. (1) We have damaged the British-American alliance and friendship to the extent that full recovery would take years — if they had that much time. (2) We have so weakened the prestige and unity of the "Tory" Party in England that the Labor Party is now much nearer to power, with either Aneurin Bevan or Hugh Gaitskill as prime minister. (3) We have shut off about one-third of the flow of oil to Western Europe, thus seriously crippling the industrial machinery of that half of the continent. (4) We have simultaneously increased: a, The dependence on the United Nations of its member countries; b, The sacrifice of national initiative and action to the United Nations; and c, Our own control of the United Nations and its policies. (5) We have enabled our agent, Colonel Nasser, to emerge as the victorious and powerful hero of the Arab world. (6) We have brought a realization of America's unreliability as an ally and supporter, and a realization of the incohesive impotence of the whole West-

ern alliance, right to the doorsteps of Greece, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan. (7) We have poured enough arms into the Arab world, established enough agents there, and swung enough popular feeling to the support of those agents, to be able to pull Mr. Churchill's so-called Iron Curtain down over most of the Middle East at any time that it is strategically and psychologically wise to do so. (8) We have accomplished all of this without the use of a single Russian division or the loss of a Russian soldier. (9) *We have accomplished it without giving our hand away*; without letting it become visible that we had sufficient direct and indirect influence over the governments of *all* the countries involved to have planned — and made sound plausible — all of the major steps taken on both sides. (10) And the Western nations still do not have any idea of what has happened to them, much less how or why."

Mr. Malenkov could then sit down, amid tremendous applause.

Some Footnotes. On Point 1

This editor was in England during the middle of November. The bitterness towards the United States, "to be seen on both sides of politics, in business circles, among ordinary people high and low," was extreme. The one solace the British could find anywhere was that "we have finally got rid of Dullesism." The following paragraph is from the London Sunday Times of November 25:

"It is not enough for the United States Government to say to us, 'Give up your position and policies, to which we object, and we will then discuss ways and means of helping you.' Once bit, twice shy. That was precisely what we were persuaded to do in Mid-August, when Mr. Dulles prevailed on the British Government not to take the Suez Canal issue to the Security Coun-

cil by promising full American support for a user's association which would force Nasser's hand. When we found we had been deceived over this, confidence in the American Government's good faith was dealt a disastrous blow."

But British ire was by no means confined to Mr. Dulles. Here are some more extracts from this same editorial, presented because, while typical of the comments of the whole British press, they are actually more restrained than most expressions of opinion on the same subjects.

"Where can we seek the ultimate power behind this strange behaviour (of the United Nations)? In the Soviet Union? In part, certainly, but in this matter the U. S. S. R. would be impotent if its line were negated by the United States. Behind Mr. Hammarskjöld and the Assembly has lain the American Administration. . . ."

"President Eisenhower proclaims his faith in the Atlantic Alliance. Yet almost every act of commission or omission by himself or his government during the past three weeks has been deliberately directed against America's principal partners, and so against the Alliance itself. . . ."

"Very shortly after the cease-fire Sir Anthony Eden approached the President personally and received a cordial response to his suggestion that he visit Washington forthwith to clear away misunderstandings and rebuild mutual confidence. A few hours later this message was reversed. Such facts are now known to informed people in London. The snub given last week to Mr. Casey, of Australia, another visitor who could have put a British view to the President, was obvious to all. That there is no meeting of minds between London and Washington is the calculated fault of the American Administration."

The Times did not say that Mr. Eden

and Mr. Casey were not sufficiently pro-Communist to be *personae gratae* with the clique that actually runs foreign policy in Washington right over the heads of Dulles and Eisenhower, but the statement would have been entirely in order. All of the comments *The Times* did make in this editorial were before "American pressure and Soviet threats" (as the French Prime Minister, Mr. Mollet, put it) had compelled the complete backdown, ignominious withdrawal, and incredible loss of prestige and position on the part of the British and the French. So you can easily imagine how much more hostile have become the British feelings towards America in the meantime.

On Point 2

The intemperance of Gaitskell's criticism of the Suez venture rubbed the patriotic sensibilities of most British citizens the wrong way; and the first reaction, strongly against him, probably weakened the standing of both the Labor Party and himself. But as the step-by-step backdown of England and France has gradually turned the whole episode into a pathetic fiasco; as the effect of this fiasco on the stability of the already shaky pound, on British industry, and on the daily lives of the British people (as through petrol rationing) has begun to be felt; and as the division of opinion within the Conservative Party itself has become more visible — with these developments it has also become clear that a terrific blow has been dealt to not only Eden but his party. And to form some idea of the disaster to England that would be involved in Gaitskell's coming to power, you must remember his obsession with one particular facet of socialism, namely *equality*. His announced goal is to see, to bring about by force as rapidly as possible, that not one Englishman shall

have one shilling or one piece of property of any kind, more than any other Englishman; that a deadly and absolute equality shall prevail — except, of course, for the perquisites provided those in government positions. And this is the man whom the Kremlin can claim, quite correctly, to have moved much nearer to the premiership — and ultimately the dictatorship — of England, through its Suez maneuverings.

On Point 3

Since World War II, and partly because of the difficulty encountered by socialist governments in getting enough coal out of the ground, a major part of the more progressive industry in Western Europe has converted to the use of oil as a fuel. At the Third International Manufacturers Conference late in November, which this writer attended, the corridor conversation of the business men from Europe emphasized the much greater seriousness of the Egyptian impasse to their industries, due to this change from coal to oil, than would otherwise have been the case. The impact on production, on currencies, and on living standards, of the stoppage of the flow of oil through Suez, is and will be stupendous. It is true that, according to oft-repeated statements and apparently authentic estimates, the Canal could have been cleared, or could still be cleared, in seven weeks, if the people and the equipment best qualified to do the job were allowed to go to work. But the political obstructions to be cleared are much more unmovable than the physical ones. It has already been almost three months since the Canal was closed, and seven weeks is still the best estimate as to what *could be done*, starting from now. Our guess is that the Soviet No. 1 boy in the area, Colonel Nasser, will find ways to slow down and prevent the reopening of this artery

of trade for quite a while. We think there is room for a reasonable doubt as to whether it will ever be open again, to ships of the Western nations, before the Soviet officially brings down the Curtain over that part of the world.

On Point 4

It is our contention — too often repeated, perhaps — that the Communists are relying most heavily on one particular road, among the many along which they are steadily advancing, in their plans to take over the United States. That route follows the course of inducing gradual surrender of American sovereignty, piece by piece and step by step, to an international organization like the United Nations, while the Communists themselves are simultaneously and equally gradually getting complete working control of that organization.

In the Suez case not only did England and France yield all the way to United Nations orders, and meekly submit to being censured and treated as aggressors by the United Nations, but it was the Soviet Union which took the lead, with the help of the United States, in bringing about these steps. The United Nations, with Russia definitely at the helm, even established its play-acting police force in Egypt — with one thousand soldiers from Russia's satellite, Yugoslavia, as the largest and most *mobile* contingent. This police force has exactly the power of a school-boy traffic cop. So long as everybody is willing to cooperate and obey the youngster's signals, everything is all right. But the minute anybody wants to get rough and disregard the "cop", he is helpless. This token *gendarmérie* of the United Nations would be equally helpless if anybody, whether for frankly aggressive or honestly defensive reasons, decided to get rough and override it. Nevertheless it sets a highly significant precedent,

and marks a further sharp extension of the United Nations' claims to super-sovereignty. From this step to the sending of several *divisions* of United Nations "police", composed of troops from Yugoslavia, India, Indonesia, and other "neutral" nations, into Alabama and Mississippi, to "stop civil disorders and preserve peace", is just a matter of degree.

On Point 5

It has seemed plain to us for a long time, as we have pointed out in the pages of this magazine, that Nasser was just as certainly and completely an agent of the Kremlin, under Kremlin orders, as Mao Tse-tung or Ho Chi-minh. The British now claim to have captured papers, especially those in possession of the five Algerian spies, definitely proving this to be so. We have not seen the tangible evidence, but the circumstantial evidence alone is overwhelming.

As to this agent having come out of a contest with England and France, the two nations long considered most powerful in the Middle East, as the successful and victorious hero of the Arab masses—the situation speaks for itself.

On Point 6

Not only the nations named, but many others that are struggling to resist Communist and "neutralist" pressures, have been shown just how weak a reed is American friendship to lean on, in the case of any showdown with the Soviet. They have been vastly puzzled by many American actions before, but there was nothing puzzling about this one. The United States simply deserted its allies and moved over to the side of its supposed enemies, all the way.

It is beside the point to argue that the British and French should not have gone into their half-baked action in

Egypt in the first place. (Certainly they should not have, unless they intended and had the courage to see it through, any more than we should ever have gone into the Korean war unless we intended to fight it to win.) We can even waive all the justification given the British and the French, for the course they took, by the Treaty of 1888 governing the future of the Canal; and concede, solely to simplify the argument, that their action was "aggression". The core of the criticism of the United States is that infinitely more brutal and far more senseless "aggression" was taking place at the same time in Central Europe; that the United States spent all of its energy and influence to stop the "aggression" in the Middle East, in which it could support the Soviet Union; and that, except for a few pious "tut-tuts", it did nothing in that situation in which it would have had to oppose the Soviet. No Russian tanks were compelled to pull back from Budapest, no United Nations police force was sent to Hungary, and no threats of any kind were made as to what would happen if the Russians didn't turn the Central European mess over to the United Nations to handle.

Exactly as the *London Times* charged, the United States went far out of its way, at almost every turn, to show its friendship with the Soviet instead of with its actual and its natural allies. Of course some sophists in Washington, with the words put into their mouths directly or indirectly by dialecticians with Marxian leanings, can find their usual specious alibis and disingenuous apologies for the actions of our government. But you can be sure that the hard-pressed and practical-minded anti-Communists in the governments around the Mediterranean, daily facing Communist machinations as the greatest reality of political life, could see no excuse at all.

On Point 7

Russia is known to have poured at least one billion four hundred million dollars' worth of armament into Egypt and Syria already. Shiploads of more arms are still being unloaded regularly at Syrian ports. The Lebanese and Syrian governments cue their actions to Moscow's orders as closely as does Colonel Nasser. The humiliation of the French and British left a "power" vacuum in the Middle East, which Russia is rapidly filling with its own standing and influence. The United Nations, with America's consent and encouragement, is completely subservient to Moscow's wishes and policies in that area. Any further comments on this point would seem to be superfluous.

On Point 8

The unvarying artifice in the global achievements of the Russians has been their manipulation of native leaders, native groups, and native emotional forces, to accomplish their ends. In recent years, whenever that manipulation reached the level of involving international diplomacy, they could count on the United Nations for strategic help. Now the United Nations has also been made a more definite instrument of Russian policy in even tactical operations.

If the Kremlin gang should now undertake—through Middle East deputies and with Middle East armies, of course, as they would—to seize Iraq or wipe out Israel or even to dismember Turkey, the United Nations would be about as useful in stopping them as it was in the case of Vietnam, or Hungary, or Sukarno's murderous assault on the Moluccas, or Nehru's actions in Kashmir. On the other hand, if the United States sent its own armed forces to "resist this aggression", as it did in Korea, and as the currently debated

"Eisenhower Doctrine" implies we would, then you would find the United Nations compelling such United States armies to fight a "defensive" war only, with their hands tied behind them so far as fighting back and carrying the war to the enemy was concerned—and the United States submitting to this idiotic compulsion, exactly as was the case in Korea. So far as the events arising out of the advance of Russian imperialism are concerned, history doesn't have to worry about repeating itself; the Kremlin takes care of that by using the same tricks over and over.

The truth is that the United Nations, already a tool of the Kremlin for all practical purposes, is *effective only* in those situations and actions where it is on the side of Russia. But it is increasingly effective when helping the Soviet. With that additional help and weight to give to native allies and agents, Mr. Malenkov could have gone even further. He could have assured the Politburo that, except for suppressing rebellions, no Russian soldiers would need to be sacrificed in any of the Kremlin's forthcoming conquests of the foreseeable future.

On Point 9

The parallels in the Suez and Korean episodes are numerous. In the case of Korea we ostentatiously withdrew our forces, practically inviting the attack. Then we reversed our attitude, and stormed back in, at heavy cost and with fearful handicaps. In the case of Suez, the British withdrew their troops from Egypt, practically inviting Nasser to seize the Canal. They then reversed their attitude, and stormed back in, also at heavy cost and with heavier handicaps—especially as to the psychological factors in their position.

In the case of Korea it was the United States government which suddenly and

surprisingly showed firmness against a Communist advance, and all through the resulting struggle it was the British and the French who dragged their heels; and who, through helping Russia in the United Nations, kept us from ever fighting the war to win. In the case of Suez, it was the British and the French who, suddenly and surprisingly, decided that the Communists and their stooges, in seizing the Canal, had gone too far; and who showed the firmness to resist what was the first and only real "aggression" in the whole Suez affair. And it was the United States which held back and which, through helping Russia in the United Nations, kept the opponents of the Kremlin from having any chance to win their struggle.

But the real parallel, we believe, lies much deeper. For in both cases we think that the actions *on both sides* were carefully planned and effectively controlled by the Kremlin. In other words we think, as we said in print three years ago — with much more detail and explanation to support our argument than we can interpolate here — that while President Truman had no idea he was following Communist orders when he suddenly grew so bold and threw us into the Korean "police action", we actually went into that action because the Kremlin wanted us to do so. The Kremlin could plan and foresee the many and weighty advantages for themselves that could be garnered from our engagement in such a war under such circumstances. Now we think, likewise, that while Sir Anthony Eden was not aware of the source of the pressures and influence that persuaded him to face up to the Communist thrust, he made this move — as much out of character for him as was Truman's *volte face* — because the Kremlin wished it. For the Kremlin, knowing in advance the attitude our government would take, could

foresee the prodigious gains to be registered by themselves before the whole Suez situation was ever straightened out.

This belief that the Kremlin pulled the wires, which dangled both the British government and ours at the ends, is a very definite and honest one on our part. And since the conclusion, if correct, is quite important as a warning to all of us as to how far Communist infiltration has reached, we hope it will not rub our readers the wrong way for us to state, humbly but frankly, that this is not just a wild surmise. The opinion is based on many years of study of Soviet methods, and bolstered by a reasonable amount of accuracy in previous analyses of analogous developments. But we shall leave further discussion of the whole theme, of which this is but a part, to the end of this review — except for one pertinent comment which really belongs at this point. This is simply that we do not see how anybody who has closely observed Truman and Eden in their attitudes towards the Communists, and all the *other acts* of their respective administrations when the Soviet was involved, can find any other plausible explanation for such surprising dummy-bites-ventriloquist exceptions to their regular performances. When a perfectly tractable dummy does bite the ventriloquist, it is because the ventriloquist willed it that way, and went through the necessary manipulations to bring about the act.

On Point 10

As to the Western nations not knowing what has happened to them, Mr. Malenkov would be entirely right, and for many reasons. One most important reason derives from an entirely different series of events, which is the subject of our next chapter.

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IV

THE HUNGARIAN REVOLT

IT SEEMS TO US that there has been more nonsense written and spoken about the Hungarian tragedy, with less insight into its real place and meaning in the struggle between Communism and the free world, than in the case of any subject since Walter Lippmann and his fellow liberal pundits so fulsomely praised the great lovefest called Yalta. We do not relish the suggestion that almost everybody in the regiment of commentators is out of step except us. But we must march to the sound of the drums as we hear them; to the tune of what we believe to be the drums of truth, and not to the beat of the drums which the Communists are playing so loudly to drown out all other sounds.

William Schlamm, in the December 22 issue of *National Review*, had a very incisive article on the developments of the past several weeks, and made far more sense — to us — than anybody else we have read in exposition of recent history. Yet, in our opinion, even so penetrating an analyst as Schlamm missed two most important points. They are the first and the last of the numbered items which we shall consider in the discussion below.

Vaccination Is Better

Than Smallpox . . .

1. The whole world believes in insurance, and is willing to pay, in some medium of exchange, for protection against future ill fortune, or to soften the blow if ill fortune arrives. The principle of vaccination is analogous to that of insurance, but with one important difference. In the case of vaccination, you accept now a small dose of some evil, in order to render yourself immune to that particular evil, and thus to protect yourself against a heavy or even fatal attack of the same evil at

some later date. The whole world believes in vaccination. Yet only the Communists in the Kremlin seem to be smart enough and realistic enough to extend the principle of vaccination to areas outside the field of disease. And because the principle is so little used by others, it is difficult to get the rest of the world to realize and believe how unhesitatingly it is used by the Communists.

But before noting the application of this drastic preventive medicine in Hungary, it seems wise to look briefly at the earlier uprising in Poland. In the November issue of this magazine, which went to press on October 26, we gave many reasons to support our belief that the Poznan and Warsaw riots were precipitated and stage-managed by the Soviet for its own purposes; and that similar inspired revolts would be fomented in other satellites, although one in Hungary *could* get out of hand. Former Premier Mikolajczyk of Poland, following his recent trip to Europe, and supported by much other authoritative opinion, has now announced the same conclusion.

But when the Kremlin turned loose its *agents provocateurs* in Poland, and viciously tightened the screws of oppression, so that the combination would bring about mutinies of despair, we do not believe that vaccination against future rebellion was an important part of the scheme. For we think that the control of Moscow over Poland has been entirely too complete and too pervasive for the Kremlin to be seriously concerned about rebellion in that satellite.

It's true that the Poles have had long experience in the organization and operation of an "underground"; and Poznan, due to both tradition and geography, is a persistent center of such activities. So it was undoubtedly a relief

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to Moscow to have some of the leaders of the present underground expose themselves and get eliminated. But we said, and Premier Mikolajczyk now agrees, that the primary purpose of the riots was to give the appearance of a certain degree of independence of Moscow to a new Polish Communist government, still completely controlled by Moscow; and thus to establish a pattern of fictitious "Titoism" for other satellite governments, in order that Washington would have a half plausible excuse to give these governments a lot of money and other aid. That the plan was well conceived is borne out by the fact that Eisenhower, Adlai Stevenson, and John Foster Dulles have all expressed themselves as earnestly in favor of extending such aid promptly to the new and "freedom-loving" government of Poland. Who persuaded them that Gomulka, Cyrankiewicz, and Ochab have any slightest interest in the freedom of the Polish people is a mystery we cannot stop to investigate here.

But after the honest though doomed uprisings in Poznan, against Communism itself, had given the verisimilitude of similar purpose to the early riots in Warsaw — to fool the West — the whole "revolt" became a matter of one Communist faction going through motions, largely phony except for the misguided patriots who got sucked in, of fighting against another Communist faction; while the "ersatz" character of the rebellion was a far smaller factor in the bloody fighting in Hungary. There was a great deal more of the "fight of despair" directed against Communism in general. And we believe that the Kremlin expected — and even desired — that too.

For Hungary was, beyond question, a good place in which to stick the needle containing the vaccine-serum of revolt. Nowhere in Europe was this

precautionary treatment needed more, from the point of view of the Kremlin. Admittedly, when a vaccination really "takes", it can be quite troublesome for a while. And of course this one "took". But the Kremlin crew is always ready to accept present troubles for the sake of future gains. These tyrants have the possibility of serious and widespread revolt eternally on their minds. It is naive, therefore, to think that they will not plan and take any steps to insure against well-organized revolts ever getting under way simultaneously in several parts of their enslaved dominions. Such insurance, through discouragement of those who would organize revolt, has been one of the chief purposes of the Summit Conference, of the parade of world-known Communists and Communist-sympathizers on state visits to Washington, and of many other adroit proceedings. To think that, in the face of so permanent a threat, these realistic schemers would overlook the old principle of "divide and conquer"; or that they would fail themselves to create the opportunities to stamp out piecemeal, and to keep on recurrently stamping out piecemeal, the incipient makings of any such future concerted revolt — such naiveté would be absurd. This is not a bunch of children we are playing against, but men who got where they are by being the *most* cunning and ruthless among all the cunning and ruthless Communists in Russia.

Hungary As Horrible Example

2. Although we arrived at the above view, that the fine Russian hand had set off the Hungarian revolt, before there was any factual evidence to corroborate the thesis, such corroboration has appeared. Russell Jones, the one American reporter who stayed in the thick of the struggle after all of the others had gone, filed an extremely

interesting news item as soon as his departure finally made such a release possible. He stated it as his own positive opinion, based on actual observations, that the "Communist rulers of Hungary provoked an anti-Communist demonstration. Their idea was to kindle a small fire, to release some of the smoldering passion. Then the rulers would stamp it out so ruthlessly no one would dare to try again." In support of his argument Jones gave facts, places, and times to show the tank and troop movements, and other steps taken by the Communists, to suppress the revolt or to keep it from ever getting too far out of control, before the first demonstration was provoked, the first shot was fired, or the first fuse was lit. And Jones reached his conclusion without any consideration of what we believe to be the most important reason of all for the Kremlin to instigate this ordeal of horror, which will be the last item in our list.

In the meantime, and even if the reader is unconvinced of such subtle perfidy on the part of the Communists, it is easy to see some of the advantages the Kremlin did take of the rebellion, however it got started. One was, by the use of merciless measures of suppression and uncompromising brutality, to make of this insurrection a warning. Neither the Hungarians, nor the Poles for that matter, are again likely to have any courage to revolt for years. Many of the very Hungarians who would be the most inclined ever to rebel have been killed, deported, or driven to leave the country as refugees.

But not only the Hungarians have been warned. Both the uprising itself, and the vicious cruelty of the steps taken to put it down, have been widely publicized — with the Communists allowing and encouraging that publicity. There were several reasons for this "let

'em see it, let 'em tell it" attitude, as we hope to make clear. But one was simply to spread the news of what to expect, to the sullen slaves in other satellites who might be harboring any thoughts of throwing off their chains. The *Schrecklichkeit* in Hungary will give plenty of pause to the revolt-planners anywhere in territory now controlled by the Soviet, or presently to be brought under that control.

Another aspect of the affair that the Soviet is counting on, to dishearten those who might be willing to sacrifice even their lives for freedom, is the repeated demonstration that no help, not even active moral support, can be expected from America. As *National Review* has said: "The rulers of the Soviet Union appear to have proved what the world has long suspected: that they can perpetrate no aggression so bold, or brutality so base, as to cause the United States to take a stand." The policy of the American government with regard to revolt in the satellites seems now to be established, as pusillanimous indifference. The 1952 platform plank about liberation, which helped mightily to get this administration elected, was just a piece of paper — which should no longer cost the lives of thousands behind the Iron Curtain who might be gullible enough to think it was anything else.

The Soviet also used the occasion to give positive proof to those who put any hopes in the United Nations that these hopes were equally vain. It demonstrated particularly, in connection with Hungary, that its own control of the United Nations extended not only to the offensive use of that organization as a weapon in its aggressive actions, but to defensive considerations, as well; to the certainty that the United Nations could never be turned effectively against the Soviet itself, on behalf of rebellious

satellites or peoples. As notice in advance that any revolt was both futile and suicidal, the revolt in Hungary turned into a far-reaching success for Moscow.

Some By-Products

3. But certainly, some readers will say, the butcheries in Hungary have caused serious defections from the Communist parties in the free nations all over the world, and have seriously weakened those parties in many cases. Those readers simply refuse to learn from history or to be guided by experience. They have already forgotten that the repudiation of Stalin was supposed to cause so much confusion, and the wide publicizing of Stalin's crimes so much revulsion, as to bring about exactly those results which they now expect from the Hungarian affair. They have forgotten, moving backwards in history, the Hitler-Stalin pact, the attack on Finland, and the Moscow purges of the late 1930's.

There have been defections and drop-outs, some real and some phony, and there have been splinterings of the "national" Communist parties, after every one of these exercises in barbarism. But the ultimate effect in every case was to make the international Communist organization more monolithic, the separate parties more dependent on and subservient to Moscow, and the hard core of the faithful everywhere more reliable for Moscow's purposes. It must never be overlooked that murder, treason, lies, and bestiality are all perfectly proper tools of policy to any true Communist; that he is, therefore, not in the least disturbed by their use; and that it is only the true Communists whom Moscow really cares about. The Kremlin does not at all mind shaking off the weak sisters at regular intervals. And those "Communists" whose stom-

achs were bothered by the blood flowing in Budapest would not be worth very much to Moscow in the more savage days still to come.

These remarks apply, of course, to those who honestly "couldn't take it" any longer. As to those who merely pretended to this humanitarian revulsion, and used it as an excuse for a pretended defection, in order to put themselves in a better position to do, secretly and more effectively, Moscow's dirty work — that is another story. It ties in with Item 5 below.

In order to suppress the revolt with the ruthlessness that was employed, and with the direct hand of Moscow itself so plainly visible, the Kremlin did have to soft-pedal any present claims about the autonomy of the Hungarian Communist government. This is the only clear sign that the revolt may have reached proportions slightly beyond Moscow's anticipation, and have taken some turns not entirely in accordance with Moscow's planning and desires. For the Communists in Budapest will probably have to postpone any immediate pleas to Washington for financial aid and support for their "Titoist" government. But not for too long, you can be sure. The facts of such situations do not concern them at all; only the pretenses they are able to make, no matter how basically absurd. And, we are sorry to say, any plausible pretense will satisfy Washington as well. Moscow will certainly be able to juggle its deputies in Budapest so as to get a few tens of millions reasonably soon, from a government that has given a billion dollars to Tito's Yugoslavia. That is, unless American public opinion can force the Eisenhower administration to come down to earth and learn some of the facts of international life, which seems to be forlorn hope.

Refugees In The Headlines

4. Some of the most useful advantages the Kremlin was able to extract from the Hungarian revolt, however, arose in connection with the enormous flood of refugees; a flood furtively urged on by the Communists themselves. When there was time and opportunity for foreign newspaper correspondents to take "human-interest" pictures of refugees, crossing bridges to get out of Hungary and otherwise in the very process of escaping, the intention of the Communist authorities to allow tens of thousands to escape was apparent. The Communists didn't mind shooting down individuals, or breaking up families; and there was no mercy, only method, in this part of their madness. But there was much method.

Let's look first at the simplest and most evident gains. We have already touched on the fact that tens of thousands of the present and future enemies of Communism were either shot or deported to the slave labor camps of Siberia. But not all. For not all joined the vain revolt or could be identified for liquidation. Some of them, sensing the futility of the uprising, or for other reasons, simply seized the opportunity stealthily offered by the Communist left hand, and fled the country. Some of the most vigorously anti-Communist Hungarians, and therefore potentially most dangerous for the future, uprooted themselves, and were eliminated from the satellite population.

A second profit lay in the circumstance that not all of the refugees were anti-Communists. The benevolent haste of other nations to receive these refugees offered a perfect opening for spies, saboteurs, and Communist trouble-makers to join the stream. Since, in our opinion, the Communists had projected both this revolt and their treatment of it, far in advance and with their usual

foresight as to details, the plans for their agents to take advantage of the refugee migration certainly were not neglected. And the quality of the screening which we gave the thousands rushed to this country fitted into those plans like bacon on a plate of fried eggs.

Next, it was natural, and to be expected without a shade of doubt, that a great wave of sympathy for the escapees would sweep over America and other Western nations. Joining this wave, stirring it up to extraordinary proportions, would give — and has given — secret Communists and their sympathizers, especially if tainted by too much Communist front activity in the past, a beautiful chance for some protective coloration. These frontiers could now call a lot of attention to themselves as anti-Communists, by going overboard on behalf of the refugees. If you are going to pretend to be anti-Communists, you have to go through some anti-Communist motions at least some of the time. They could now go through a lot of widely advertised motions, at a time and in a way which would make these motions quite convincing, to the uninformed, as to their anti-Communist status, without doing the slightest harm to the Soviet cause. Even our government, which wouldn't lift a finger to slow down the murders of these people and their relatives in Hungary, has turned somersaults in providing special favors for these refugees as evidence of its anti-Communist bias. And the pro-Communists within our government, by steering genuine anti-Communist energies onto this path and dissipating those energies in this way, could distract the anti-Communists from urging or taking other actions that might be truly harmful.

If this seems harsh, and seems to ignore the genuine feeling of human kindness and pity which has unquestionably

motivated many of the men, both in and out of our government, who have done so much to help the Hungarian refugees, please stop and look objectively at the larger landscape of which the Hungarian thicket is only a tiny patch. The unending brutalities and continuous oppressive cruelties of the Chinese Communists have for years been at a daily level equal to the Hungarian atrocities at their worst. The burden of 125,000 refugees on tiny Austria is doubtless extremely heavy. But nearly five million homeless Chinese refugees from Communism have poured onto the small island of Taiwan, and Chiang Kai-shek's government and people are finding food and lodging and eventually jobs for them. Thousands of Chinese anti-Communists are regularly escaping the mainland right now, at far more danger to themselves and with far more suffering involved for themselves and their families than has been the lot of the average Hungarian refugee.

The flood of homeless and absolutely destitute refugees from Communist North Korea into Syngman Rhee's South Korea is continuous. The horrors of the escape of anti-Communists, including a large number of Christian missionaries, from North Viet Nam (after our government gave its blessing to the turning of that country over to the Communists), and the percentage of refugees who lost their lives in the tropical swamps while trying to escape, have both exceeded the parallel horrors and losses in the Hungarian terror. The refugees that have poured into West Berlin alone, since the suppression of the anti-Communist uprising in East Germany, have probably exceeded in number the total of the Hungarian refugees — and have certainly been as miserable and destitute.

And this list could be continued far too long. The Western peoples have

felt great pity for all of these suffering victims, and have extended various kinds and degrees of assistance to them. But nobody has rushed luxury planes to fly them posthaste to our shores, or brushed aside regulations to welcome them to our midst and to give them jobs and housing. The ballyhoo of the past two months would have you think that there had never been victims of Communist oppression before. The politicians and the press have had a field day over the escaping Hungarians and their needs. Why?

The answer is very simple. Because the Soviet wanted it that way, and had enough agents and sympathizers in the right places to whip this perfectly proper feeling of kindness and charity into a blinding furor. If all of this impetuous and extravagant Samaritanism had been spontaneous, it would merely be surprising — and praiseworthy. But the point is that this huge wave of disproportionate and well-timed sentimentalism has also been planned and fomented by the Communists. It is not difficult for any reader, who is reasonably well informed as to Communist practices, to convince himself of the truth of this observation by merely studying the sources and the methods of the stimulation of public feeling that has taken place. Nor is it difficult to take the next step, and realize that the flood of refugees, all the excitement concerning them, the tales they could tell and the interviews with them in hundreds of newspapers, would help greatly — and have helped greatly — to dramatize the whole Hungarian revolt. The refugees have been one means of giving it the widest possible publicity, and the most sustained attention of the American people. Which, in our opinion, is exactly what the Communists wanted and planned. The reason they wanted it moves us into the final item in this

chapter, and leads to what seems to us to be the very core of the mystery, the inner plot of the bitter tragedy staged and enacted in Central Europe.

The Hungarian Red Herring

5. To follow journalistic practice, and put the substance of this section in the first paragraph, we are dealing here with one extremely simple and fundamental fact. The Soviet is now winning the cold war so rapidly; is chalking up such prodigious victories of diplomacy, infiltration, and control; is taking over, either as actual satellites or under the thin disguise of "neutrality", such huge new hunks of territory so steadily; is moving, with ever accelerating momentum, towards complete conquest of the planet, so irresistibly — that a once minor worry has now become the biggest problem the Kremlin has to face. That problem is to keep the people of the remaining free world, and the honestly anti-Communist members of the governments of the remaining free world, from becoming aware of how fast the Soviet is winning.

Evidence of the Kremlin's preoccupation with this need began to be visible around the end of 1953 — as we have tried to make convincing in earlier issues of this magazine. Up to that time, for one illustration, the Soviet had always suppressed or distorted information about uprisings, in either the satellites or within the borders of Russia itself. It had belittled and played down both actual rebellion and the prospects of rebellion. Even as late as 1953, the great revolt in East Germany got scanty headlines for a few days, scantier articles for a few weeks, and promptly passed into limbo. And to learn practically anything about the significant, extensive, and incredibly courageous revolt at the huge Vorkuta slave labor compounds, you had to go to the semi-

underground press and to what the small-circulation anti-Communist journals considered authentic enough information to publish.

But there is one maxim of Soviet policy which we, and anybody else writing about the Kremlin's methods and achievements, must call over and over, even monotonously, to the attention of our readers. It has come increasingly into play with the soaring of Russian strength during the postwar years. The maxim is: *When you are weak, you must give every appearance of being strong; but if you are strong enough, you can afford and use an appearance of weakness whenever and wherever it will serve your purpose.* Every expert bridge player knows the trick; and yet our government and press seem blithely unsuspecting of its use by a régime which has won control of a third of the world by trickery.

We believe that there have been two important manifestations of this particular form of cunning, in the front which the Kremlin has presented to the world during the past three years. One is the pretense of operation by committee. When Stalin died Georgi Malenkov was already in firm control of the situation through long years, as Stalin's right hand man, at the very center of the reins of power. At first it was necessary and important for him to show his strength and firm control, in order to establish himself as the undisputed successor and boss. He had to eliminate Beria because, as the head of the secret police, Beria was the one man who might sooner or later have challenged his dictatorship. But with that done, Malenkov's power within the Soviet hierarchy was so complete and so assured that he could afford the pretense of being demoted. He distributed the ostensible top authority, which had formerly been held in Stalin's hands alone,

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among Krushchev as First Secretary of the Party, Bulganin as Prime Minister, and Zhukov as Defense Minister — all three his creatures and agents, taking his orders, carrying out his planning, and reporting to him behind the scenes.

The advantages to Malenkov personally, of this temporary appearance of weakness, and to the whole Kremlin gang in this appearance offered the free world of confusion and squabbling and struggling for position among themselves, we covered at much greater length in an article of several months ago. So we'll not belabor the point here, where Dictator Malenkov's "stoops to conquer" scheme is only an illustration. Our real concern is with the second use of the same maxim; the pretense of the Soviet that its whole empire is in danger of falling apart through rebellions that shake its control, and which might grow to a size it would not be able to suppress. It is a very clever pretense; a very logical step in the Communists' program of constant deception; a striking example of their belief in "gradualism", and of their realistic willingness at every turn to accept losses for the sake of greater gains. Also, it was probably the *only* maneuver open to them that could beguile the West sufficiently, into an unawareness of the gathering strength of the Kremlin, and into a relaxed feeling that the danger from so deadly an enemy was actually declining. You don't win rulership of the world, through deception, without having the courage and the cleverness to use every gambit in the book, even the dangerous and distasteful ones.

And so, beginning with the riots in Stalin's Georgia over — or supposedly over — the postmortem degrading of their native son, and with all of the other factional disturbances which accompanied or followed this surprising feint, the Soviet really started turning

the limelight on all incidents of rebellion. When there were not enough incidents of rebellion, incidents were provided. If you didn't know that these various rebellions were shaking the whole Soviet system apart, right down to its foundation, *Pravda* itself told you so in daily headlines. The Kremlin wanted to make sure you realized it had suffered blows from which it could never recover!

That the Poznan riots were timed and precipitated to coincide with the great trade fair, when many representatives of Western nations were in the city, for this purpose of giving those riots greater publicity in the West, seems to us beyond question. We said that we thought so when it happened; we feel sure of it today. But the Kremlin scheming is farsighted, and no other power in history has ever devoted so much attention to "timing", or used it so continuously and effectively in connection with every design. Their meshing of various plans, in different activities and different parts of the world, into one time pattern that made all such plans complement each other and fit best into world-wide circumstances, has been so amazing as to excite our admiration, if its goal was not our own destruction. And the small circumstance of coincidence with regard to the Poznan rebellion was just a little wheel within a very large wheel, timed in its slow turning to synchronize much greater circumstances. For, from at least the time of the Soviet 20th Congress, in February, 1955, the plans for what was going to happen in Egypt — and in Hungary — were already formed and were being transmitted to the top actors in the various dramas.

The opening curtain of the Egyptian drama was the withdrawal of our offer to supply money to build the Aswan Dam. We do not claim — nor believe

— that Secretary Dulles was knowingly following Communist orders, or consciously serving Communist purposes, when he announced this decision. We do not claim to know by whom, or for what real or ostensible reasons, he was persuaded to do so. We do believe that the action was a part of the Communist design, and was an illustration of the Communist influence in our government. (Not that we should ever have contributed a penny to build the Aswan Dam, with Egypt under Nasser's rule, goodness knows. But that we should never have promised, or got into the position of being expected, to do so.)

From then on, things moved pretty fast. But they moved with such controlled precision that the showdown came just a week before the American election. Even if there had been sufficient anti-Communist feeling of an aggressive nature in America, to have rallied the American people and bludgeoned the American Congress into a firm support of Britain and France in their show of armed resistance to Communist thievery, the Soviet was quite sure — and correctly sure — no such movement could get under way so close to an election, when nobody knew who was to be the next president.

But the foil and the distraction, with reference to the Egyptian drama, was already well under way, too, and approaching its most attention-compelling scenes. By the time the Soviet had made third-rate powers of Britain and France in the Middle East, had put another huge slice of the world right under its thumb, and had made *faits accomplis* of all the other important goals we outlined in Chapter III, the eyes and minds of the American people were already artfully focussed on the blood baths in the streets of Budapest and the horde of refugees stampeding to Vienna. And during the whole three

months that have elapsed since the election, the publicity concerning the fight put up by the Hungarian patriots; articles about the failure of Communist indoctrination in Hungary, and about the evidence of the ideological failure of Communism everywhere which Hungary offers; the talk about the whole Soviet system coming apart at the seams; the plight of the refugees and the extravagant, highly ballyhooed measures to help them — these exciting subjects and benevolent concerns and comforting reflections have kept the American people from even starting to look objectively at the outcome of the "fracas" in the Middle East, or to take stock of what has really happened to them, their allies, and the rest of the free world. By the time they ever begin to forget about the refugees — or to be allowed to forget — and to realize that nothing has really changed in Hungary in the slightest except for a few hundred thousand people being killed or deported or driven from their homes, they will be so accustomed to the fact that Russia now rules the roost in the Middle East that they will not even remember how recently it happened or how vastly important was that Soviet victory.

V AND A SWEEP OF THE HORIZON

IN VIEW OF THESE EVENTS, Lenin's statement of Communist strategy, so often quoted by ourselves and everybody else, still deserves to be thought about some more. "For us," he said, "the road to Paris leads through Peiping and Calcutta." And to be sure of being understood, he also put it another way. "First we will take Eastern Europe; then the masses of Asia; then we will encircle that final bastion of capitalism, the United States of America. We shall not

have to attack it; it will fall like over-ripe fruit into our hands."

The Communists finished taking Eastern Europe, entire, several years ago, *with the active help of our government* — as in Poland and Yugoslavia. Not only despite, but *because of*, the East German uprising in 1953 and the Polish and Hungarian uprisings in 1955, their grip on the whole area is today more solid than ever before. As Judith Listowel indicates, in her two excellent articles in the *Saturday Evening Post* of January 5 and January 12, 1957, and as the Hungarians themselves now expect, the Soviet will probably deport to slave labor camps every young, able-bodied, male patriot left in Hungary. It was Khrushchev who brutally tore 1,200,000 peaceful Poles from their homes in 1939 and 1940, and shipped them off to Siberia, just to reduce the chances of rebellion. It was Bulganin, through his subordinate, Rokossovsky, who allowed the two hundred and fifty thousand patriots of General Bor's army, tricked into the attempt to free their city of Warsaw from the Germans, to be slaughtered to the last man, while the Russian army stood by gloatingly on the other side of the Vistula — so that those same Polish patriots could never rise against the Russians. And it was Zhukov who was in ultimate charge of the Russian divisions and tanks, with their Mongolian crews, who perpetrated the recent massacres in Hungary. The complete further decimation of this country of nine and one-half million people is something for which this incredibly cruel trio, whether on orders from Malenkov or on their own, will have both the stomach and the experience.

The Communists, it must be remembered, have made clear that they are entirely willing to wipe out ninety per-

cent of the people of an area, if necessary, in order that the other ten percent shall be ruled by the Kremlin. (The fact that this applies to one small country, or to the whole world alike, should give pause to those who think the Communists would not want to conquer the world by atomic bombs, even if they thought they could do so, because of the destructiveness involved.) And the peoples of Eastern Europe do not need to have this threat spelled out to them any more. They can sense it from actual observation. Some day, somehow, if the West — even for its own urgent defense against its own subjection — ever comes to mean its hypocritical phrases about liberation, the enslaved people of Eastern Europe may be able to rise and win their freedom. But that day seems far more remote, after the vain sacrifices in Hungary, than it has in a long time.

The second part of Lenin's long-range program was to make the masses of Asia a mighty arm of Communist strength. The Communists went vigorously to work on this step within four years after they had established themselves in Moscow. But, except for the part which they already controlled, Russia in Asia, it took them a long time to get even their first solid foothold on that continent. Finally, however, during the years 1944 to 1950, *with the active help of our government* — as at Yalta, Potsdam, and through the Marshall Mission — they got a very large foothold indeed, in the whole mainland of China. Also, in 1948, they made a firm satellite of North Korea. Since that start they have made steady and increasingly rapid progress — always with the assent and frequently with the assistance of our government. Of the continent of Asia the Kremlin now rules outright: Siberia; Outer Mongolia; North Korea; Manchuria and all the mainland of

China; North Vietnam; Tibet; and Afghanistan. And for all practical purposes it controls, if not yet the peoples, at least the governments, of Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, India, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria — with Egypt, although in Africa, also an important part of this controlled Asiatic block of "neutralist" nations.

There still remain, of Asia, that they have not yet taken over: Japan; the Philippines; Formosa; Hongkong; Malaysia; Thailand; South Vietnam and some small parts of Indochina; Nepal; Pakistan; Iran; Iraq; Israel; Saudi Arabia; Yemen; the Aden Protectorate; and Turkey. This sounds, by sheer numbers, like an imposing list. But there is doubt as to how some of these countries actually stand in this classification; and the total of them all, as to either area or population, is far less than that of Mainland China alone. By any reasonable standard of appraisal, the Kremlin is already three-fourths of the way towards finishing the second segment of its three-part task.

Beneath all of the tactical pulling and hauling, through all the wars the Communists have contrived to bring about and chaos they have created as milieux in which to work and as means to an end, there has been an epic simplicity about Communist strategy for forty years. This was the road of conquest laid out for them: Eastern Europe; the masses of Asia; the United States of America. All else was subservient or collateral to movement in this direction; Spain was mere rehearsal, Guatemala was untimely error soon corrected, incursions into Mexico and Panama were but encircling stepping stones to make the last part of the road broader and easier when they came to advance down it in full force. "Hold onto Eastern Europe, which is already won; keep working steadily on Asia, at both ends

and in the middle, until we have it all; and do everything possible to keep America ripening until we are ready to shake the branch!" No matter which way the Kremlin seems to be moving or looking, no matter what seems to be going on inside the Kremlin itself, these are the goals that it keeps as firmly in mind today as it has throughout more than three decades since Lenin set them out.

There is no standard of measurement which our readers would accept for appraising how far the Communists have already made progress towards their third goal. But Harry Bridges and his Communist unions have a stranglehold on Hawaii. Alaska and Panama are known to contain a dangerous number of Communist agents. The unions which control our shipping and many other vital parts of our economy are Communist-ruled or Communist-dominated. Communist-planned, Communist-fomented riots and disorders in our southern states are slowly building towards a typical Communist-contrived civil war. Our great universities go out of their way to put Communists or Communist sympathizers on their faculties, and our great foundations spend millions to make Communism untouchable and respectable. Our press and radio and television systems are loaded with commentators, columnists, and even news reporters brazenly advancing the Communist point of view. It is easily demonstrable, by statistics or by plain observation, that those who lean towards Communism get ahead faster and win greater acclaim in any of our arts, from music to the movies — with especial emphasis, as to this point, on the Broadway stage. It is hard to tell, in the case of many of our great church organizations, where the support of Communism leaves off and devotion to currently advanced religious princi-

ples begins. We have a true national debt, when contingencies to which we are committed and the actuarial obligations of our social security program are added to the admitted debt, amounting to at least six hundred billion dollars, and are following the Marxian plan of spending ourselves into wild inflation and bankruptcy as fast as the Washington bureaucrats can devise ways and excuses to do so. We have now shut off, and kept shut off for more than two years, any effective exposure of the actual Communist agents in our midst. We have steadily concentrated power in the hands of the executive branch of our federal government to the point of making it infinitely easier for the Communists to manipulate or seize the necessary reins of power than was the case only a few years ago. We have, by one means or another, estranged almost every friend we had among the other nations of the free world and are rapidly estranging the remainder. We are told daily, through every means of communication, from thousands of sources, the defeatist nonsense that we are in a world-wide socialist revolution which nothing can stop, and that communism is ultimately inevitable. And, in our opinion, concurred in by at least a hundred men we know who are well-informed on the subject, there are more Communists and Communist-sympathizers, more highly placed and with more influence, right inside our government today, than there were at any time under either the Roosevelt or Truman administrations. It would seem to us to be a very conservative guess that the Communists are already at least twenty-five percent of the way on the road to the accomplishment of the third and final task in their program.

The application of simple arithmetic, to these numbers of 1, $\frac{3}{4}$, and $\frac{1}{4}$, shows that — even by these estimates, and the

fractions are conservative — the Communists have now gone two-thirds of the way towards the total accomplishment of their job as Lenin saw it. Nor can there be any doubt that he sized up the requirements, and the order of best accomplishment, with brilliant foresight. Whether the Soviet rushes its divisions across Western Europe just before, just after, or simultaneously with, its seizure of the United States, or whether it waits to gobble up the infiltrated countries of South America after the United States is finished off, no reasonable man will question that there will be nothing to stop the juggernaut, once the United States is toppled out of the Soviet path. Subjugation of Eastern Europe, the masses of Asia, and the United States add up, in effect, to Soviet rule and enslavement of the world.

But the most frightening part of Soviet progress is the correlation of a time scale with the accomplishments. It took them twenty-nine years, from 1919 to 1948, to complete the attainment of the first of their three interlinked goals. And by the end of that time they were just beginning to make any visible real headway towards the second. But in just eight more years their momentum has carried them three-fourths of the way over the second field and at least one-fourth over the third. If we are realistic and sensible enough to realize that we are dealing with a rate of *acceleration*, and not a rate of *speed*, we can easily — and justly — start shuddering at the small amount of time we have left. Nor will we be saved from any premature attack by events in the Kremlin, as we may have been saved in 1952, by the state of Stalin's health and approaching death, from his willingness to jump the gun on the patient Soviet schedule. Because there will not be anything premature about attack by the present lords of the Kremlin. It will be fully prepared

for, and indicated, by all the prerequisite accomplishments in the long strategic plan.

Don't We Care?

There are many friends who, when we try to convince them of the subtle duplicity of the Soviet — as in inveigling us into the Korean War, or England and France into the Egyptian venture, or in themselves planning the Poznan riots — always say: "Oh, but you give the Communists too much credit. They are not *that* clever." They seem to think, as Frank Kirkpatrick has said, that "half the world became Communist like Topsy; it just grew that way — overnight." They will admit that in 1945 the United States had such overpowering military strength, productive might, and moral influence that it could have enforced a *status quo* on the boundaries and the political allegiances of the whole world if it had had that kind of ambition; while Russia in 1945 had just been saved from annihilation by American aid, American armament — eleven billion dollars' worth through the Red Sea route alone — and American fighting on many fronts. They will admit that, in 1945, Russia had to depend on American currency, which it printed from our plates, to pay its own occupation troops in Germany, and on American loans with which to buy even the policemen's clubs used to beat the Poles into submission; and that the Soviet had to seduce Roosevelt and Truman into giving it the diplomatic victories which began its imperialistic march. They will admit that, since 1945, starting from those comparative positions, the Soviet has taken over countries with seven hundred million inhabitants, and increased its power and influence to the point that the very existence of the United States is now seriously threatened; and that the Soviet has done so entirely by cunning, not by

military conquest. Yet they will say: "Oh, but the Communists are not that clever." This is pathetic and dangerous blindness. The Kremlin, and probably one man in the Kremlin, is determined to rule the world. He is obsessed, as was Stalin, with the vision of becoming the first human being ever to do so. He has the mentality, of which Marlowe wrote, that makes him feel 'tis "passing brave to be a king, and ride in triumph through Persepolis." And he knows that *infinite* cunning, subtlety within subtlety, has brought him where he is and is necessary to carry him the rest of the way.

The commentators and editors seem to be showing surprise and delight that "*Communism as a faith* is dead in Europe," as if this were news. But Communism *as a faith* never was alive in Europe, or anywhere else, in more than a very small percentage of any population, and that percentage is probably higher today than ever before. Whatever Lenin and Trotsky may have hoped or planned, under the compulsion of circumstances and the lust for power of men like Stalin Communism rapidly degenerated into a stark conspiracy, and it has remained a conspiracy ever since. No country has ever voted for Communism in a free election; nor have the Communists, after no matter how many years of thought control and indoctrination, ever been willing to allow a free election in any country they already ruled. Communism has always been imposed on a people, from the very first experience in Russia itself, and has been kept fastened on them, by the force of gangsterism and the brutality of a secret police. And the Communists have proved, time after time, that with five percent of a population enveloped within its efficient and ruthless organization it can keep any country and any people in perpetual subjugation.

The West is suffering under many delusions. One is that our enemy is an ideology. It is not. Communism is not a political party, nor a military organization, nor an ideological crusade, nor a rebirth of Russian imperialist ambition, though it comprises and uses all of these parts and pretenses. Communism, in its unmistakable present reality, is wholly a conspiracy, a gigantic conspiracy to enslave mankind; an increasingly successful conspiracy, controlled by determined, cunning, and utterly ruthless gangsters, willing to use *any* means to achieve its end. And there is simply no such thing as peaceful coexistence with this conspiracy, or coexistence of any kind. Those gangsters must be destroyed, or they will surely destroy us.

The strategic cunning of the Kremlin takes many forms. And one of the deadliest is being used on us today. For some years past it has been true, and from now on it will be increasingly true, that most of the steps which carry us gradually into the spider's web of Communism, and make us at last but a collection of Communist provinces ruled from Moscow, will be taken under the guise of "fighting" Communists and of "opposing" Communism. Most of our bureaucrats, politicians, and statesmen, will be "sucked in", and go along because they are persuaded — through misguided idealism, stupidity, or self-interest — that they should. Some few will be traitors who know exactly what they are doing. But our policies, and our total course, will be determined by the Kremlin, and disguised to look plausible by that supreme cunning in which nobody will believe — as they already have been, for lo, these many years. The fundamentally decent Western mind, and especially the rather naive and optimistic American mind, just will not grasp the kind of enemy with which it

has to deal.

But what about even those who do see and understand? Will they fight hard enough, sacrifice enough, to spread that understanding? There is only one thing the Kremlin and its "inside" agents in every country fear today; that is the recognition, especially by the American public, of the truth — of the nature, the size, the methods, and the success of their conspiracy. Can we get that truth, and resulting awareness, into the consciousness of enough of our fellow citizens? That depends largely on *you*, and others like you.

There are today some seven hundred million non-Russian non-Communists living daily lives of virtual slavery behind the Iron Curtain, some forty million of them in the actual slave labor camps of Russia and Red China, who only a dozen years ago, or less, enjoyed practically the same freedoms as you and I. These people now say to each other, but above all to themselves: "If I had only known! If I had only believed! There is no amount of work and sacrifice and suffering I would not have given, if I had only realized the necessity, the danger, in time. Now it is too late, and any amount of struggle and of sacrifice, even of life itself, is all in vain."

Their number increases by tens of millions every year, and we are directly in the path of the conqueror. Are we really so hopelessly blind, so stupefied by "prosperity" on one side and insidious propaganda on the other, that we cannot even see the wolves devouring the carcasses of our brothers or drawing ever nearer to ourselves? Are we going to let our country and our whole civilization go under, and new "Dark Ages" of serfdom be ushered in, while we happily play at our little games? May God forbid; but may we speedily become more worthy that He should!

ONE MAN'S REMINISCENCE is another man's poison. So if you do not wish to read more lines prompted by the thought that this magazine is now one year old, you may prefer to skip this page.

Our goal for the first year was six issues. We brought out five. Our goal for 1957 is eight issues. We wish to remind all readers, however, that subscriptions are not for a calendar year. Your subscription, whenever entered, pays for the next twelve numbers thereafter, regardless of the intervals at which they appear.

In one way our largest single problem in connection with this magazine is the correspondence it draws. Much of this correspondence is very helpful; and whether it be laudatory or critical, we welcome and appreciate the opportunity to read it all. But, with few exceptions, it is simply impossible for us to reply. To do so would require the time of half a dozen editors, for that one duty. We are one editor, with half a dozen duties. So we hope you will understand.

The same problem has another face. It's true that, even in this one-man magazine, we have published guest articles -- which we asked for -- by Ex-Premier Mikolajczyk of Poland and General A. C. Wedemeyer. We have also published personal letters to the editor from both President Syngman Rhee of Korea and President Chiang Kai-shek of China. But we simply do not have the facilities for consideration of, and correspondence concerning, "outside" contributions, except those requested by us to meet our specific needs. We regret this being the case, for we do appreciate the friendly interest shown in the offering of such material.

To newcomers we wish to repeat that this number of our "informal review" is an exception in many ways. Ordinarily, we break the contents up into shorter articles and miscellaneous features. Also, our preoccupation with the methods and the menace of the Communist conspiracy does not usually keep us from dipping our oar into many other waters. And finally, as much as we consider the world to be out of joint, we do not let the painful view keep us from laughing fairly often at ourselves, or at anything else which is equally ludicrous. And the world is full today of what Molière would have called "the ridiculous strutters".

If by any chance you would like to know even more about this magazine, and are not a subscriber, we invite you to become one. We have (thoughtfully) provided a form for that purpose, somewhere within these pages.

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March 11, 1957

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Mr. Robert Welch, Jr.
Belmont, Massachusetts

EX-107

Dear Mr. Welch:

Thank you for your letter of March 4, 1957,
with enclosures, including the magazine entitled "One Man's
Opinion." I am pleased to have this material available.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: Bufiles contain numerous references to individuals
by the name of Robert Welch in Massachusetts. There is no
reference in Bufiles identical with "One Man's Opinion." This
magazine is a review of current topics and contains Welch's
observations which are critical of various State Department
policies. Further comment is not deemed advisable.

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Miss Gandy	

Memo from the desk of
ROBERT H. W. WELCH, JR.

March 4, 1957

Dear Mr. Hoover:

As implausible as it seems that anybody could give you any new glimpse of the Communist conspiracy, I am still bold enough to think that this issue of my little magazine might. So I hope you will be able to find time to read it.

With great gratitude and admiration for your part in the effort to save our country and our civilization, and with all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Robert H. Welch, Jr.

Robert H. W. Welch, Jr.

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Mr. Robert H. W. Welch, Jr.
Belmont 78, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Welch:

Please enter my subscription to twelve issues
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(The main purpose of this order form is to facilitate the above individual subscriptions. But for those who think that friends also would enjoy this magazine, or who, as crusaders for conservatism, would like to put it into other hands, spaces are provided below. Both spaces may be ignored if desired. In any event your own subscription will be appreciated. RHW)

Also, on the back of this sheet are the names and addresses of others for whom I should like to have you enter subscriptions for twelve issues, at \$5.00 per subscription \$ _____

To enable you to reach as many congressmen, senators, state legislators, educators and other opinion-molders as possible, by your own selection of names from your own list, I am covering the cost for you to enter such subscriptions at \$5.00 each, by enclosing an additional \$ _____

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ONE MAN'S OPINION

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by
H. J. Brunercrow

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AN INFORMAL REVIEW

Volume II Number 10

NOVEMBER 1957

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A PERSONAL PAGE

October 21, 1957

Dear Reader:

We asked Professor Evans for three thousand words for this issue, on *THE TRUTH ABOUT NATO*. He started writing, the brakes on his fountain pen let go, and he came up with fifteen thousand words before he could stop. Even then, he informed us, as to the truth about NATO, "the half had never been told."

Obviously, we didn't have the room to tell it. So we persuaded Medford to extract the necessary words out of that fifteen thousand, simply to shed a little light on *THE NATURE OF NATO*. The article is still long. But it will give you, we believe, a better understanding of NATO than you ever had before. Which will not make you happy—but that is not our responsibility.

Our own article, appraising the damage already done by the forest fire of Communism, and the speed with which that forest fire is bearing down on us, directly in its path—this article also called for more space than anticipated when we gave ourselves the assignment to write it. But when we ask you to *LOOK AT THE SCORE*, our purpose is to present an intelligible scoreboard for your inspection, so far as we are able. Counting pages or measuring printer's ink is secondary to that consideration.

Already being tight for space, however, we decided to postpone the appearance of Professor Bruner's *HOW TO TALK TO THE SAUCERS* to a later issue. Then the Russian moonlet started running circles around us, and interest in space travel of any kind soared like a three-stage rocket. So Joliet's article stays in, at the expense of the usual editorial, book review, and some minor features.

May the Lord—and our readers—be merciful to all amateur editors who serve three huge helpings of meat without either gravy or potatoes. Especially me.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

ONE MAN'S OPINION—is edited by Robert Welch, and published by Robert Welch, Inc., Belmont 78, Massachusetts, U.S.A. This is a one-man, now-and-then magazine, which usually appears at intervals of one to two months. Subscription rates are five dollars for twelve issues, in the United States and Canada; seven dollars elsewhere.

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The statements and opinions in this magazine are those of the editor or, in the case of guest articles, of the individual contributors. No responsibility with regard to the magazine's contents is assumed by, or can be attributed to, any one else. Many members of the editorial advisory committee may disagree with many specific items of interpretation or conclusion in these pages. But the following group of distinguished Americans give the editor, both on their own initiative and as requested, comments and advice which are helpful in making the analyses and forming the conclusions which are offered to our readers.

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LOOK AT THE SCORE

THE COLD WAR is certainly no game we are playing. It is a deadly struggle for freedom against slavery, for existence against destruction. But we can use the analogy of a game nevertheless. And the first parallel the analogy brings to mind is the occasion when a friend of ours made a grand slam at contract bridge. As soon as the hand was over his partner, as well as both opponents, began to tell him all he had done wrong. To listen to them you would think there had not been a single thing right about either his bidding or his play; that the result had been just a lucky break; and that he was visibly ignorant of even the rudiments of the game. To all of this comment our friend had just one simple answer. "Gentlemen" he said, "look at the score."

Now we have been hearing ever since 1922, and especially since 1945, about one mistake after another which the Communists were making. When Mr. Richard Nixon announced almost a year ago, that the Hungarian uprising marked the beginning of the end for the Communist tyranny, he was repeating the same kind of prediction to which we have listened for decades. And the only answer to all of these comments is simply: "Look at the score." If we stop always arguing about the separate plays the Russians have made or are making—which is what they try so hard, and successfully, to keep us doing—and if we just stand off instead and study the overall picture, we see at once that the Kremlin is winning the Cold War hands down. We see that it has been winning the Cold War steadily for twenty-five years;

that it has gone a tremendous distance toward its goal of taking over the whole world; and that it is now advancing toward that final goal at greater speed than ever.

The pattern of combined deception, bluff, infiltration, diplomatic pressures, and aggressive ruthlessness, which the Communists have used over and over again successfully on one country after another, has already been sketched many times, in many other places besides the pages of this magazine. We'll not repeat the description here. In this article we shall give little attention to the *methods* by which the Communist conspiracy has made such terrific gains. Our object is simply to *measure* those gains; to put down a realistic appraisal of how far the Communists have already gone and of where we actually stand today. To repeat: *Let's look at the score.*

I

THE FIRST Russian Revolution, led by Trotsky in 1905, failed. In 1917 a non-Communist revolution, in which neither Trotsky nor Lenin had any part, was successful. There was even a reasonable chance that the provisional revolutionary government, under Kerensky's leadership, would gradually have established a constitutional republican regime. But in October, 1917 Lenin was able to take the revolution out of the hands of its earlier leaders, and convert it into a Communist strike for power.

This time Lenin and Trotsky were successful. There were many unusual historical factors in the situation which made this possible. But it is not our job to try to show how lucky these con-

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LOOK AT THE SCORE

spirators were during the first five years — especially since their heirs have *created* so much of the same kind of luck for themselves in the decades that followed. And by 1922 their grip of terror, directed and even restrained by ruthless purpose, had been firmly fastened over enough territory for the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics to be formed. The core of that Union, of course, was Russia proper; all of it which the revolutionists had not been compelled to give up, in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk they had made with Germany in 1918 in order to stay in power. But by 1922 they had extended their infiltration, police activities, and resulting control enough to be able to bring into this Soviet Union, besides their reduced Russia, the areas of Russian Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, Georgia, Ukraine, and Byelorussia. This was the base from which Lenin and his successors set out, deliberately and determinedly, to conquer the world.

Lenin died in 1924. But before he died he had determined, and laid down for his followers, the strategy for this conquest. It was, we should readily admit, brilliant, far-seeing, realistic, and majestically simple. "First," he said, "we will take Eastern Europe. Next the masses of Asia. Then we shall encircle that last bastion of capitalism, the United States of America. We shall not have to attack it; it will fall like over-ripe fruit into our hands." Lenin was firmly insistent that the Communists should take all of Asia ahead of Western Europe, and then use Asia as a base from which to conquer Western Europe and the rest of the world. To make this plan doubly clear it was summarized by the Communists into the aphorism: "For us the road to Paris leads through Peking and Calcutta."

Now there are many remarkable things about this three-step strategy

which Lenin devised. But the most remarkable is that the Communists have never wavered from it one iota in the thirty-five years since it was promulgated. Through famines which they deliberately caused in order to collectivize agriculture, through whatever industrialization they have achieved, through wars which they have insidiously brought on for the help such wars would be to their plans, through periods of peace and prosperity elsewhere in the world, through power struggles within the Kremlin itself, through apparent changes and reversals in the party line that make non-Communist heads swim in confusion, through every upheaval and opportunity, the Communists have always kept their eyes unwaveringly on this strategy and on plans to carry it out. They have let nothing stand in their way, and nothing divert them. They have used the philosophy of communism — or, in other words, the appeal of socialism—as an ideological weapon in this struggle, whenever they could and for whatever it was worth. But it was only one of their many weapons. They have also used bribery, lies, bluff, brutality, treason, murder, and every possible means to advance them on this road, without the slightest concern for any moral difference in those various means. And above all, they have used patience.

World War II gave the Communists their first great break. Which is one illustration of what we meant in giving them credit for manufacturing their own favorable circumstances. For with sufficient time to discuss adequately the ramifications of the Sorge spy ring in the 1930's, the extent of Communist influence in Western capitals, and the way Stalin made use of Hitler when Hitler thought he was using Stalin, we might be able to convince even a skeptical reader as to how largely the whole

LOOK AT THE SCORE

war was caused and brought on, skillfully and purposely, by Stalin and his agents. He fully foresaw the advantages of making himself an ally of the Western "democracies", with a common enemy, and the chaos and resulting opportunities which the war would bring. Whether or not his purpose should have been clear at the time is a question which we do not need to argue here. But in retrospect it is easy to see that every move of himself and his agents, from the earliest days of the war, was designed with his postwar plans for Soviet imperialism kept carefully—and very practically—in mind. All of that is outside of our present scope, however, as we are to look only at Communist accomplishments. So please remember simply that their first goal was to take Eastern Europe entire.

II

At THIS POINT we have to retrace our own steps, briefly, in order to show why this first Communist step took so long. From 1924, when Lenin died, to 1929, Stalin had been primarily occupied with the internal struggle for supreme power. From 1929, when he was able to exile Trotsky and Trotsky's closest followers, to 1936, he was chiefly engaged in keeping this regime, of which he had become dictator, from utter collapse; and in getting it recognized as — if not a civilized government — at least a stable or permanent one. Due to all of the turmoil caused while Stalin was winning out over the original Bolshevik leaders, as well as the inefficiency of any police-controlled socialist economy, the situation had become quite precarious. In fact by 1932 the Soviet government was actually staying alive financially, from week to week, by procedures which, in the case of individuals, would be called the kiting of checks. Then early in 1933 our for-

mal recognition of the regime saved them from financial disaster, and gave them a tremendous boost in prestige and credit, both at home and with other nations. And by such merciless cruelties as the deliberate and cold-blooded starvation of over three million peasant farmers of the Ukraine, Stalin's agents whipped the economy of the Soviet Union into enough compliance with socialist planning for it to become a going concern.

Next, from 1936 to 1938, Stalin engineered and directed the great purge, with its mock trials and incredible confessions, whereby he cut down all of the tall corn surrounding him, and established his own eminence and authority as absolute. Then, after all of these preparations had been made, and then only, was he ready and able to make any tangible headway in carrying out Lenin's strategy. Which does not mean that this strategy had been forgotten or ignored for a minute. Infiltration by Communists into other nations, and especially by Communist agents into positions of influence in other governments, had been pushed energetically, brilliantly, and ruthlessly, for years. Thus when the time was finally ripe, Stalin was able through these agents to keep the eyes and the anger of the civilized world focused on the crimes of Hitler, while he himself was perpetrating conquest and crime, continuously and successfully, that far outdid even Hitler's. But he always held his aim exactly on the goals set forth by Lenin. So now, after this much necessary prelude, let's record the steps by which Stalin completed the first stage of Lenin's strategy, and took over Eastern Europe.

In August, 1939, as a result of his compact with Hitler, Stalin seized all of eastern Poland. During that same year and in 1940, through brutal con-

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quest by force of arms—which his agents in Western countries were able to get the Western nations completely to ignore—he took over the Karelian Isthmus of Finland, and swallowed up all of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Most of these conquests were temporarily taken out of his hands by the Germans during the World War that immediately followed, but they reverted to him as the Germans were driven back in 1944. And although the war had supposedly been fought—in the beginning, anyway—over the territorial integrity of Poland and other small nations, the Communist influence among the Western Allies was too great for any such purpose to hold against Stalin's determination. As early as the Teheran Conference in 1943 it was made clear that, when the war was over, Stalin was going to be allowed to keep everything he had stolen. He was. Not only that but, despite a new series of even more savage subjugations of neighboring countries, he was held up to the American people as peace-loving, and described by a United States President as "good old Joe."

The new series of conquests started the minute the war was over. The formal flaunting to the world of these conquests occurred as follows. In January, 1946, Stalin's henchmen proclaimed their "People's Republic" in Albania. During the course of 1946 they established themselves as the government of Hungary, with brutal executions of Hungarian patriots who had resisted the Germans and now resisted the Russians. In July, 1946 Stalin's hatchet man, Tito, completed his crushing grasp of Yugoslavia by the public shooting of Mihailovich. In November, 1946 Stalin's agents took over Roumania and Bulgaria. In January, 1947 the mock elections in Poland completed the two years of barbarously cruel enslave-

ment of that nation to Stalin's "Lublin Gang." And this Poland, which Stalin thus ruled, now included the former German territories east of the Oder and Neisse Rivers, which the Western Allies had allowed Stalin to add to Poland on the west—supposedly to compensate it for the loss of Eastern Poland which he had already incorporated into Russia.

In February, 1948 Stalin's lieutenants in Czechoslovakia—including many prominent men whom nobody had dreamed of as being Communists—pulled their coup d'état and formally placed that country behind the Iron Curtain. In October, 1950 Stalin's lackeys formalized their puppet state of East Germany. By this time, of course, there were other "take-overs" going on in other parts of the world, as we shall see. But we are dealing here only with Europe. East Germany finished the job there as it had been planned by Lenin. The Communists now had Eastern Europe, entire. And not despite, but because of, the East German uprising in 1953, and the Polish and Hungarian uprisings last year, the Communists today have a much firmer grip on all of Eastern Europe than they had even in 1950.

III

SO LET'S MOVE ON to the next step in the Communists' program. It was: To take the masses of Asia. At this point, in any objective survey of their progress, we see most clearly one characteristic—among many—for which we have to give the Communists a lot of credit. While they are working on a particular task or assignment, and no matter how difficult that task may be, they never stop looking ahead or preparing for the tasks that are to follow.

Although the Communists must have realized in the 1920's that it would take them decades to conquer Asia, and al-

though they were fully adjusted to the importance of taking Eastern Europe first, nevertheless they began their infiltration and work in Asia, especially in China, almost before the blood of the 1917 revolution had grown cold. By 1925 they had their agents, including the Russian Borodin, the "German" who called himself Galen, and the American Earl Browder, all in China participating in the revolution which Sun Yat-sen had started in that country fourteen years before. These agents were trying hard to convert it into a Communist revolution—as Lenin had done to the one in Russia. Borodin had achieved such success by the time Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, that he all but controlled the revolutionary party, known as the Kuomintang, and the revolutionary armies.

Defeated in this purpose by the nationalism, common sense, and courage of Chiang Kai-shek, Borodin and his associates were driven out of China in 1927. The influence of the Communists sank to an extreme low, and they had to start again on their long, cruel, treacherous road to power under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung. But even at the very bottom of Mao's fortunes Moscow furnished him one thousand revolutionaries, trained in Moscow universities, as the core of his guerilla band. Despite all the lies told the American people by a horde of pro-Communist writers about Mao and his so-called "agrarian reformers", he and Chu Teh and his other top associates were direct agents of the Kremlin every step of the way. So was Ho Chi Minh, later to become the Communist dictator of North Vietnam. He spent two years studying revolutionary strategy and guerilla tactics at a Moscow school, in the early 1920's. And so also, no matter how they have tried to hide it, Sukarno and Nehru and Khrishna

Menon and a host of other viceroys of the Kremlin in Asia today have actually been agents of the Kremlin from the beginning of their public careers.

Of course we cannot take the space here to go into the ruses, plans, deceptions, betrayals, and epic savagery by which the Communists eventually were able to make their power increasingly felt in Asia. It took them a long time. Not until they had the full help of our government, completely misled by Communist influence, both during World War II and immediately after that war, were they successful on any sizeable scale or in any formal manifestations. But these successes then came thick and fast. Here is their sequence.

V-J Day was August 15, 1945. Before even that month of August was over, Stalin's troops occupied all of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands—thus pointing two guns permanently at Japan—by our specific permission. In October, 1945 Stalin's henchmen set up their "People's Republic" in Mongolia. In 1948 they set up their government in North Korea. In October, 1948 Stalin's troops took over Manchuria. All of this time, with Moscow's help exerted primarily through its influence over our government, Mao and the Chinese Communists were crushing their opposition in more and more of China. While Mao's hordes had been given by Moscow all the tremendous stockpiles of Japanese arms left in Manchuria, our government prevented Chiang Kai-shek's troops from getting even ammunition for the guns they did have, through an embargo declared by George Marshall. He even boasted that he had disarmed thirty-nine of Chiang's divisions with a stroke of his pen. And so, by 1950, Stalin's agents had completed their conquest of the whole mainland of China.

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In May, 1951, Moscow's invaders seized Tibet. In the summer of 1953 Stalin's agents (specifically including Nehru) imposed on us, in Korea, a truce so shameful, in both the procedures of the negotiations and the substance of the truce, as to be incredible in the light of past American history. One result was to strengthen the Kremlin's grasp on, and use of, North Korea. In the summer of 1954 Ho Chi Minh and Chou En-lai and other tools of the Kremlin took over the better half of Indochina. That completes the coverage of all those parts of Asia which are formal satellites today. How much further the blackout would have extended by now, but for a change in the Kremlin's method of establishing its control, there is no way of telling. But that introduces a new twist to the story.

For by this time Stalin was dead, Malenkov and his associates or subordinates had made clear that the Kremlin was in just as firm control of worldwide Communism as ever, and the whole conspiratorial apparatus was rapidly marching forward toward ultimate victory. So rapidly, in fact, and so visibly, that a different kind of problem loomed ever larger. This was the necessity of keeping the remaining free world—and especially the American people—from becoming aware of how fast and how surely the Communists were taking over the whole planet.

Primarily for this reason, we believe—although some other considerations highly advantageous to the Communists were involved—the new regime in the Kremlin called a halt to the establishment of formal satellites, and began to extend its power through the mechanics and under the camouflage of so-called “neutralism.” The “neutralist” nations pose as independent; but the governments—if not yet the peoples—

are completely controlled by Moscow. The difference between these dependencies, and true satellites such as Czechoslovakia and East Germany (or Yugoslavia), is only partly one of degree. It is every bit as much just a convenient difference in form. For in either case the people may be bitterly opposed to Communism. But the Christian Polyynesians of the Moluccas and the Moslem Arabs of Syria are being held in line in support of Communist plans, and gradually brought under a Communist police-state rule, despite their futile and sometimes suicidal opposition, just as surely as were the people of Poland or of Hungary before them. The process of enslavement is hardly more gradual—and as is certainly being shown in Indonesia right now, it may be no whit less brutal—but it is somewhat better disguised.

Those dependencies in Asia, where the rulership, the government, already belongs completely to Moscow, are Indonesia, Burma, India, Ceylon, Afghanistan, and Syria. When these are added to the actual satellites, and if you will mark up a map of Asia accordingly, we believe you will agree, just from the looks of that map, that the Communists have already gone at least three-fourths of their way toward the completion of the second step in their three-part program.

IV

NEXT LET'S ASSEMBLE a progress report on the third step. And once again we find that the Communists, while working hard at the immediate task of getting control of the masses of Asia, and of making Fortress Asia the stepping stone for conquering the rest of the world, have been looking ahead to their further tasks. They have been doing everything possible—that was also strategically wise—to make their final

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undertaking both easier and more certain of success.

That they intend to use northern Africa as a part of their encircling movement for taking over Western Europe, when the time comes, is obvious. The extent to which they have already accomplished this encirclement is ominous as an indicator in the Communist time table. For to the east of Western Europe you have Russia itself and the European satellites. Then as you move clockwise around the Mediterranean, you have Syria, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, all rapidly becoming Soviet dominions or dependencies. Following the circle to the north, you come to Iceland, now dominated by the Communists; and then Norway, which is certainly no longer dependable as a bulwark against them. The ring is complete and its suggested significance is not easily dismissed.

Coming to the Western Hemisphere, we find no satellites nor actual dependencies as yet. But we find Communist influence already strong enough to constitute a stranglehold in British Guiana, Panama, Cuba, Guatemala,—and the Hawaiian Islands. These are all excellent enveloping outposts for closing in on the United States. The first, British Guiana, recently gave an overwhelming political victory to an avowed Communist, who was deposed and jailed by the British Crown government for trying to establish a completely Communist government there only three years ago. The situation in Panama is too well known to need discussion. The same is true of Cuba. When Guatemala went formally Communist a few years ago, it was temporarily saved by the efforts of one American diplomat, John Peurifoy. For his pains, Peurifoy was shipped off to Thailand, where he soon met his death in as strange and dubious

an accident as that which befell James Forrestal much earlier. Now, with the assassination of President Castillo Armas, coming on top of a very definite failure of our government to support anti-Communist people and policies in Guatemala, the Communists are tightening their grip on this small nation again. As to Hawaii, if the reader has any doubt as to the existence of a Communist stranglehold on the Islands, ready to be exercised whenever it suits Communist purposes, he needs only to check with any member of the Senatorial investigating subcommittee which spent considerable time in Hawaii only a few months ago.

When we finally look to the extent of Communist infiltration and influence right inside our own borders, the subject is entirely too large for us to do more here than list a few pointers. But the unions which control our shipping and many vital parts of our economy are Communist-ruled or Communist-dominated. The best informed authorities say that there are at least thirty huge Communist espionage rings operating in this country today, against the only two or three that have been partly exposed. A twenty-five year career man in our State Department resigned only a few months ago in order to tell the American people of the treasonous falsification of information concerning our foreign affairs which is going on there all of the time. J. Edgar Hoover himself has said that beyond any doubt secret Communist agents have worked themselves into thousands of strategic positions in our whole national life, ready to step out and act for Mother Russia when the time comes. Not only has all really effective exposure of these espionage rings and agents now been stopped, but over three hundred known Communist-sympathizers have recently been restored by Supreme Court rul-

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ings, to their former jobs within our federal government.

There are now between three million and five million aliens *illegally* inside our country. A vast number of these are under the patronage of the American Committee For The Protection Of The Foreign Born, which has been officially labeled as a Communist front for years. In the present atmosphere of "peaceful coexistence", doing anything about these dangerous invaders is so hopeless a job that in a twelve-months period the city of New York will close its files on from fifty to seventy-five thousand such cases. And known Communists are pouring in on us in steady streams through various ports of entrance, under broad "emergency" provisions which tie the hands of even honest anti-Communist members of our Immigration Service.

Communist sympathies and even actual pro-Communist subversive activities are daily made more respectable by the actions of our government, our great universities, much of our press, and the complacency of our people. We could go on with specific factual illustrations and instances of this spreading, deepening Communist influence for many pages—as we have done in other articles in this magazine—if this were the place for such repetition. It is not. So let us merely say that in our opinion, concurred in by all of the leading authorities on the subject whom we know, the Communists are already at least one-fourth of the way, through long and careful and insidious preparation, toward the accomplishment of their third and final step, which is taking over this country—and with it, the rest of the world.

The simple arithmetic of the situation, therefore, is as follows. Call each of the three steps one, and their total three. The Communists have accom-

plished all of the first step, plus three-fourths of the second, plus one-fourth of the third. One plus three-fourths plus one-fourth adds up to two, out of that total of three. And not to believe that the Communists are already two-thirds of the way toward carrying out their total program, or that they are not now moving at an accelerated pace and with increased momentum to finish the job, is to close our eyes to the plain facts as surely as did the good people of Czechoslovakia in 1948—and with the same ultimately fatal results.

We have quoted the following tabulation before, but it will bear repetition. Since August, 1945 the Communists have averaged taking over forty-four square miles of territory and seven thousand newly enslaved subjects every hour. Let us repeat that last part again. Seven thousand more human beings, just like you and me, have been brought under the incredibly brutal rule of a Communist police state, on the average, *every hour*, twenty-four hours of every day, 365 days of every year, for the past twelve years. And not only is that process not being interrupted in any way. The figures, in fact, need revision upward, because of the effect on the average of the greater speed of the past few years. Today the rate of conquest and enslavement is actually increasing—as the sixty million people of Indonesia would gladly testify. For the darkness of police rule is finally closing over them at this very hour.

We are rapidly losing a Cold War—which may become the most horrible of all hot wars at any time—in which our freedom, our country, and our very existence are at stake. And while *we* don't seem to know we are losing it,

you can be sure the Communists do. There is just one thing—only one thing in the whole world—which the Communists fear today. It is that despite

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their tremendous influence in our government and over all of our means of mass communication, the American people will wake up too soon to what has really been happening, and what is now happening, right under their noses. The only thing which can possibly stop the Communists is for the American people to learn the truth in time.

V

AND SO WE SAY at the end, as at the beginning of this article: Simply look at the score. To make it easier to follow that injunction, we'll summarize this review by putting that score in tabular form. Admittedly, the classification of some countries, under the headings given below, is to some extent a matter of judgement or appraisal, and we certainly would not expect universal agreement with our disposition of every name in this list. But we have tried to err, when we do, on the side of underestimation of Communist influence or control in a particular nation. We believe that the best informed students of world-wide Communist activities would move more names *up* in this order of arrangement, rather than *down*. And we believe, therefore, that this scoreboard presents a trustworthy general picture of the results of the Cold War to date.

~~THE SCORE OF COMMUNIST CONQUEST AND ADVANCE~~

1. Russia taken, 1917. Boundaries determined by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, 1918.

2. Union of Socialist Soviet Republics organized, 1922. Besides the reduced Russia listed above, there were taken into this Union:

Russian Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, Georgia, Ukraine, Byelorussia.

3. Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Eastern Poland, Karelian Isthmus of Finland.

Seized 1939-40. Temporarily lost to Germany during World War II.

Reverted to U.S.S.R. in 1944.

4. Mongolia, 1945.

5. Albania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, 1946.

6. Poland, 1947.

7. Czechoslovakia, North Korea, Manchuria, 1948.

8. Mainland of China, East Germany, 1950.

9. Tibet, 1951.

10. Northern Vietnam, 1954.

11. Since 1954 the Kremlin, partly to keep from making its rapid progress toward world rule too obvious, has been establishing or solidifying "neutralist" dependencies, instead of satellites. It now owns and controls the governments of:

Indonesia, Burma, India, Ceylon, Afghanistan, Syria, Egypt, and Ghana.

12. Also, either through infiltrated agents, or by Communists in the top ranks of government, or through Communist-controlled labor unions, the Communists now have a stranglehold on:

The Malayan Federation, Libya, Tunis, Algeria, Morocco, Norway, Finland, Iceland, British Guiana, Guatemala, Panama, Cuba, and the Hawaiian Islands.

13. Communist influence is now very strong in:

Japan, Laos, Cambodia, Nepal, Israel, Sudan, Uruguay, Brazil, Venezuela, Costa Rica, San Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Mexico, France, and Italy.

14. Communist influence is strong and steadily increasing in:

The Philippines, Hong Kong, Sarawak, Thailand, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, the Aden Protectorate, Lebanon, Jordan, French West Africa, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Nigeria, French Equatorial Africa, Ethiopia, Somaliland, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika,

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Angola, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Mozambique, Madagascar, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Surinam, French Guiana, Haiti, United Kingdom, Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, The Netherlands, Sweden, Greece, Jamaica, Canada, and the United States.

15. Among the comparatively few and mostly weak countries where continuous, honest, and firm resistance to the Communists can still be taken for granted are:

South Korea, Formosa, Australia, New Zealand, Netherlands New Guinea, Union of South Africa, Belgian Congo, Pakistan, Iraq, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, West Germany, Ireland, Switzerland, and the Dominican Republic.

You May Have Missed

Mr. J. Nehru has said that American foreign policy was "not as rigid as I thought"; that he found it to be "a flexible policy adapting itself to circumstances." Actually—with apologies to Mark Twain—we don't see how anybody in the world can complain about American foreign policy. If you don't like it, just wait a few minutes.

* * *

We once had a neighbor whose age was a matter of certain knowledge to our family. She was fifty-three. She emphasized repeatedly, to acquaintances not so familiar with her vital statistics, that she simply couldn't understand why women should be so reluctant to reveal their ages; that she didn't mind telling anybody she was twenty-nine.

We thought of that lady when Mao "confessed" to some eight hundred thousand executions of enemies of the regime in Communist China. When it came to exaggeration by understatement, our flirtatious neighbor needed some lessons from the Reds. Mao's true figure, without counting those enemies sent to slave labor camps, would run at least twenty million. And the total of his "liquidations" by all means, including government-arranged starvation, would run more than forty million. His Security Minister officially reported, to the great Communist confab held in Peiping a year ago, that he had suppressed during the past few years over *five million* insurrections.

* * *

The Japanese sports writers are predicting that within fifteen to thirty years there will be real *World Series* baseball games every fall, between the Japanese champions and the champions of America's big leagues. By that time, however, we expect that the Russians will not only *invent* the game of baseball, but will *admit* that they are the world champions without any series being necessary.

* * *

We quote the following, without comment, from THE SAWDUST TRAIL.

One day as a mother was scraping and peeling the vegetables for a salad, her daughter came in to ask permission to go to a movie. On the defensive, the daughter explained it was a questionable show but "all the girls were going, they didn't think it would hurt them."

As the girl talked, suddenly she saw her mother pick up a handful of scraps and throw them in the salad. In a startled voice she called, "Mother! You're putting the garbage in the salad!"

"Yes," her mother replied, "I know. But I thought that if you didn't mind garbage in your mind and heart, you certainly wouldn't mind a little in your stomach."

Thoughtfully the girl picked the peelings from the salad and, with a brief thank you to her mother, went to tell her friends she wouldn't be going with them to the show.

THE NATURE OF NATO

by

MEDFORD EVANS

SINCE TO WEAKEN the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is a major objective of Communist propaganda, the intent of this article may be misunderstood. My criticism of NATO is based on the assumption that Communism must be destroyed, and on my fear that NATO is not set up to do that job. I am completely sympathetic with the announced NATO objectives of (1) opposing Communist aggression, and (2) preserving the cultural heritage of the West.

I believe, however, that the typical West Europeans of our time, and the typical American enthusiasts for NATO, have been wrong in their attitude toward Communism, and have therefore not yet devised the right answer to Communism. They have thought that Communism was to be "contained," and "negotiated with from positions of strength." Since in my view this is an impossible prescription, it follows naturally that I think NATO is (1) not enough, and (2) a dangerous extravagance.

NATO's weakness is mainly due to misunderstanding between Europe and America, and this is largely due to two different points of view. Americans think of NATO as a means of defense. Europeans think of it as a source of income.

Such an observation should not be taken cynically. The late Senator Taft said: "I do not think arms aid should be given in such a way as to lead Russia to believe that an attack is contemplated against Russia itself and so incite it to a war which it might not otherwise undertake."

Europeans are just a little more fearful than was Taft of the dangers of

provoking the Kremlin by arming against it too well. They also sense the danger of provoking us by not arming at all. Europeans feel, says Italian author Guido Piovene, "that the United States is dragging them into war in the defense of interests on which a compromise is possible." This surely has more in common with the caution of Taft than with the belligerence of give-'em-hell Harry Truman or the expansiveness of crusader Dwight Eisenhower.

Yet "the names Robert Taft or Herbert Hoover," reported David Schoenbrun from Lisbon in 1952, "seem to strike more terror in the delegates to this North Atlantic Conference than the names Stalin or Mao Tse-tung."

While "Europeans fear," to quote Piovene again, "that Americans will not stop where Europeans would stop," they nevertheless appreciate the fact that if the danger of war with Russia were entirely eliminated, the Yankees might not only go home but would take their money with them.

It is a difficult and confusing situation. Perhaps it would help to be quite candid about such questions as: What is NATO? What does it cost? Is it worth that cost?

I

WHAT IS NATO?

A. Organization

NATO today is an elaborate, though by Washington standards not large, bureaucratic agency, which has grown out of the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949. Under a North Atlantic Council there are (1) a system of military command, and (2) a civil service, of which the most substantial function is the

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"Annual Review" of the defense budgets of the member countries.

Britain's Lord Ismay, for five years Secretary General of NATO, says that the Annual Review is "remarkable because the character and extent of information exchanged by the . . . governments on the details of their national military, production and fiscal programmes is more complete than allies have ever before exchanged either in war or in peace." This is a cardinal fact to which we shall return.

NATO acquired "juridical personality" — capacity to conclude contracts, own property, and take legal action—by an agreement of September 1951, ratified in July 1954. More famous is the "Status of Forces" agreement, precedent for the Girard case, ratified by the United States in July 1953. General Walter Bedell Smith told a Senate committee: "If your predecessors of one generation ago had been told that they were going to be asked to ratify treaties covering the legal status in time of peace of large American forces abroad for a more or less indeterminate period, I am sure they would have been completely shocked."

The conspicuous feature of NATO is its integrated international military command. Under the North Atlantic Council is a Military Committee of all the member countries, with an executive subcommittee called the "Standing Group" which is composed of officers from Britain, France, and the United States. You will not be too surprised to hear that the Standing Group *sits*—permanently—in Washington, D.C. It has direct authority over NATO's Supreme Commanders.

Here we meet fascinating new words. SACEUR means Supreme Allied Commander Europe. Easily mispronounced "secure", it looks French and dashing. SACEUR, please keep in mind, is a

man, a General—first Eisenhower, then Ridgway, then Gruenther, now Norstad—so far always an American. The headquarters of SACEUR is SHAPE—Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe—near Paris at Fontainebleau, favorite residence of Napoleon. From SHAPE, SACEUR commands subordinates at Oslo, at Naples, and on the island of Malta, as well as at Fontainebleau itself.

There are presently assigned to SACEUR an unspecified but by general consent inadequate number of forces, including contributions from every NATO country except Iceland, which has no army. The main elements are the U. S. Seventh Army; the British Army of the Rhine, in process of reduction; and a large part of the French army, much of which, however, is physically absent, being temporarily deployed in Algeria under French national command.

Co-ordinate with SACEUR is SACLANT, Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic, whose domain is the great ocean for which the alliance is named. He is American Admiral Jerauld Wright, with headquarters at Norfolk, Virginia. Major war games under his command are now being analysed. The appointment of the first SACLANT, American Admiral Lynde D. McCormick, is said to have produced a momentary crisis in NATO. Sir Winston Churchill took it hard that Britannia should waive the rule of this ocean.

Two other outfits report directly to the Standing Group. They are the Channel Committee, responsible for the English Channel and the Southern North Sea Area, and the Canada-U.S. Regional Planning Group.

NATO distinguishes three kinds of forces: (1) assigned, (2) earmarked, and (3) national. Only SACEUR now

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has assigned forces. Big naval forces are earmarked for SACLANT. The keenest interest is in forces neither assigned nor earmarked—the British bomber command, and SAC, the U. S. Strategic Air Command. These are national. Yet on them hinges NATO's grand strategy.

And NATO is important to them. By no means all the overseas bases available to SAC belong to NATO, but a lot of them do. This leads us to the bedrock of NATO, called the "infrastructure."

The term, adopted from France, first meant the part of a railroad under the ties—roadbed, trestles, quite a lot of stuff. In NATO "infrastructure" now means specifically: (1) airfields, (2) signals, including an early warning system, (3) fuel pipelines and storage tanks, (4) training bases, (5) naval shore facilities. These are financed by assessments agreed upon as the program moves through stages that are called, in the NATO lingo, "Slices." About \$2.8 billion of this infrastructure is ready now or will be in 1961. No matter how you slice it, that is a lot of real estate. It is probably worth the price if we can hang on to the goods.

There are also non-military aspects of NATO. A "Committee of Three"—the Foreign Ministers of Norway, Italy, and Canada—made a report on *Non-Military Co-operation in NATO* last year. I have seen it. NATO is primarily military.

B. History

January 6, 1950 the North Atlantic Council approved a secret "master defense plan." Three weeks later President Truman gave it his approval, as Congress required him to do before releasing (as a starter) one billion dollars to our NATO partners. This total operation was in essence a swindle, as the plan was virtually nothing.

"On the 1st April, 1950," says Lord Ismay, "... the Defence Committee . . . approved the first draft of a detailed four years' defence plan . . . When the Council met in London on the 15th of May, 1950, they were brought up against the fact that there was a lack of coordination between NATO's military and civilian agencies . . . Long memoranda were being exchanged . . . without much result."

Secretary of State Dean Acheson returned from this London meeting, over which he had presided, to say that a "quiet, practical unity" had been—unfortunate word of a reporter—forged. President Truman praised Acheson for a "wonderful job," and told a commencement audience that the "situation" was "strong."

At the same time Field Marshal Montgomery was writing in an official report: "As things stand today and in the foreseeable future, there would be scenes of appalling and indescribable confusion in Western Europe if we were ever attacked by the Russians."

Europe was much occupied with economic recovery. It was earnestly desired that so far as possible NATO should promote, not impede, that process. Through the Marshall Plan Western Europe had learned that the proper kind of anti-Communism could be profitable—to governments—and not too dangerous. In NATO it was proposed to stiffen the dose and that was understood, but in May 1950 there was as yet no admitted thought of doing anything interperate.

Then came Korea. It is a commonplace that Korea frightened Europe into taking NATO more seriously. Just *how* it did this though, is uncertain. Britain and France do not seem to have been too much afraid of Russia. They had signed the North Atlantic Treaty in the

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teeth of Radio Moscow's blast that "Millions of people realize that this NATO pact means war on the Soviet Union." At the lowest ebb of "UN" fortunes in Korea, December 16, 1950, Russia sent notes to Britain and France warning them that to sponsor German rearmament would be "a threat to the peace." Yet two days later Britain and France, with the other NATO countries, announced their decision to give Germany a part in the common defense of Europe. Pretty brave. And in the spring of 1951 General Eisenhower found military preparations in Europe still — General Gruenther's word — "meager." Pretty insouciant.

There was more anxiety about America's intentions. There was none about Red China's. True, when the Chinese Communists invaded Korea in November 1950, the British suffered a great fright. They were scared to death the Americans might retaliate with the atom bomb. Clement Attlee conferred hastily with French Premier Plevin and flew to Washington to make sure Hair-Breadth Harry did not give MacArthur the go ahead. Despite the assurances Attlee received on this trip, anxiety persisted till April 11, 1951. Then, "The British Commons cheered . . . when Foreign Secretary Herbert Morrison reported MacArthur's dismissal."

Was the true fear, not that MacArthur might enlarge the war in the Far East, but that he might end it? Soviet Russia has a strong traditional aversion to fighting a two-front war. Maybe the political sophisticates of Europe felt safe *because* the Communists were fighting in Korea.

There is probably a more fundamental reason why Europe showed signs of panic, not at the prospect of Red China's destroying America, which was impossible, but at the prospect of Amer-

ica's destroying Red China, which was suddenly right there.

An alliance between the United States and the countries of Western Europe could not endure unless there was a common enemy. If the United States should defeat the Communists thoroughly in Asia, Europe might indeed "avoid war and yet preserve freedom," as MacArthur contended it would, but NATO would collapse from lack of motivation. Then where would the money come from?

If MacArthur persisted, if the Americans used the atom bomb, there might be a demonstration that the United States *could* "go it alone." Taft, or even MacArthur himself, might become President of the United States in 1952. These were sobering thoughts.

But suppose that the high command of the American Army were itself moved to Europe. Suppose that American forces were integrated into a European structure, subject to European controls. Would not this assure (1) a steady flow of money, and (2) elimination of reckless military adventures? Would not this be the perfect answer to both Taft and MacArthur?

From Brussels, December 9, 1950, the North Atlantic Council announced that it had "completed the arrangements . . . for the establishment" of an international army, and that with the consent of President Truman it had appointed General Eisenhower Supreme Commander. These "Arrangements" had grown out of a suggestion by Secretary Acheson at the September 1950 NATO Council meeting in New York. It is ironic that Eisenhower, who later rode into the White House on a powerful anti-Truman, anti-Acheson wave, was placed in the ideal position to move into the 1952 campaign by Truman's making him available to head an army instigated by Acheson.

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The Brussels announcement produced in the United States Congress a "Great Debate," launched January 5, 1951 by Senator Taft. The issue was hardly joined, however, outside Taft's mind, for his opponents successfully evaded him, and his supporters did not know what was going on. Taft himself obviously imagined that he could debate with the promoters of NATO, but they merely let him talk. They were sure that a man who understood so little of demagoguery as Taft could have little direct influence with the public at large; while a man as sober, honest, and industrious as Taft could have no influence at all with the intellectuals.

Taft could hardly have understood how completely the American promoters of NATO had freed themselves of nationalist "prejudice." He saw NATO rather simply as an extravagance which the U. S. could not afford, and as a strategy of doubtful value. That NATO, realistically considered, was a reversal, not of Washington's Farewell Address, but of the Declaration of Independence, is an idea which Taft was probably too innately patriotic ever to grasp.

Those who felt more progressive proceeded to denationalize important segments of American armed forces, converting them into a sort of Foreign Legion — homeless soldiers of all nations and none.

Congress was presented with a virtual *fait accompli*. "In the beginning of 1951," wrote Taft, "we were suddenly committed to a new project, without any consultation with Congress and without any justification from the terms of the Atlantic Pact. That is the program to build up a great international army on the continent of Europe with a substantial commitment of American land troops."

Senator Taft just did not know the right people. Walter Lippmann could have told him all about it. Lippmann later informed a British lecture audience:

"It was not easy to persuade the American military leaders to accept the idea that it is necessary or possible to organize the defenses of Europe on the ground. The pressure to do this came from our allies and from American civilians . . .

"About August of 1950, the Pentagon and the State Department agreed on the raising and equipping of an army in Western Europe."

When Roosevelt said that the Rhine was our east boundary, he was not taken to mean that Paris is our capital. The overwhelming majority of those who cheered when Roosevelt called America the arsenal of democracy took it for granted that the arsenal would remain an independent establishment, and that its directors would have no political "conflict of interest."

Now conflicting interests are much more deeply involved in NATO than they are in the United Nations. True, we do not have, and are not soon likely to have, a fundamentally hostile relationship with any of our NATO allies, as we do now with our partner in the UN Security Council, Soviet Russia.

But the UN Security Council does not yet afford the same opportunity for foreign control and direction of U. S. forces and resources that NATO does. No UN official gives direct orders to any American official. In NATO, German General Speidel commands — among other Land Forces Central Europe — the U. S. Seventh Army, called "the most splendidly trained operational army the United States has ever had in time of peace" by Secretary of the Army Brucker. And Brucker adds: "With its ever increasing atomic power, the

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Seventh Army is the keystone of NATO's ground defenses."

There is nothing against General Speidel as a person. There is a lot against this as a policy. Speidel is under French General Valluy, and he, to be sure, is under an American—Norstad. Norstad, however, reports to the Standing Group, one-third American; and the Standing Group is responsible through the Military Committee to the NATO Council. This whole arrangement is not a debating society, but a chain of command. There is nothing like it in the UN. There was never anything like it before.

Then, too, no UN office reviews any part of the U. S. Budget the way NATO reviews our defense budget, which now accounts for most of our taxes. The UN is a forum, but NATO is a privy council.

Walter Lippmann, the insider, says:

"The Korean War has brought an impressive demonstration of how the Atlantic Community has now become paramount in American military policy. In the controversy last Spring [i.e., 1951] between General MacArthur and the chiefs of state [sic], the deciding reason for limiting the war to the Korean peninsula, for not expanding it into China, was that American strategic air power is not only committed to the defense of the Atlantic Community but that it cannot as a matter of technical procedure be employed except with the full and willing collaboration of Great Britain and France."

[Italics added.]

You good citizens, who believe this is still an independent nation, think that one over. It may be argued that the decision to fight under restrictions in Korea was right or wrong. What is beyond argument is that the decision was

made, not by the United States, which was supplying most of the forces and supplies, nor by the UN, which was legally responsible, but the Standing Group countries of NATO.

The "Great Debate" ended with the approval of the new NATO army by a 69-21 Senate vote on April 4, 1951—two days after General Eisenhower in Paris had already established SHAPE, one week before General MacArthur was recalled from Tokyo, and 174 years and eight months after the incident of July 4, 1776 in Philadelphia. The rest of the NATO story is anticlimax; with, however, two further major developments, both necessary if the new advantage were to be properly exploited. These developments were the Lisbon decisions and the New Strategy.

Although NATO now had plenty of authority, it still did not have enough money. Accordingly there was set up a "Temporary Council Committee" (TCC) to plan fiscal improvements. And just as an American general had been found to make NATO strong, so now an American tycoon was found to make it rich. W. Averell Harriman was appointed Chairman of the TCC. He, Jean Monnet of France, and Sir Edwin Plowden of Britain formed an Executive Board of the TCC, and were immediately nicknamed "The Three Wise Men," perhaps because they were confidently expected to bring rich gifts.

They did. They brought them to Lisbon, where the North Atlantic Council accepted them in February 1952.

"The Wise Men pulled no punches," says Lord Ismay. They insisted that the European countries increase their defense efforts, which was *promised*, and that the United States spend more money in Europe, which was *done*.

Besides continuing "aid," the U. S. began "offshore procurement," which

means supply contracts with European firms; chipping in on "infrastructure" costs; and—perhaps most important of all—increasing U. S. military and civilian payrolls in Europe.

It was the Wise Men who recommended the establishment of the "Annual Review," which made NATO an international Bureau of the Budget, as SHAPE had made it an international Pentagon.

The feature of the Wise Men's program which was given publicity at the time of the Lisbon Conference was the number of military divisions and aircraft the various countries would furnish—a total of fifty by the end of 1952 and fifty more in another two years. Vast sums were to be spent—just how much is controversial (see below).

Since then the spending has been more nearly on schedule than the recruiting. The rationalization of this fact is the New Strategy.

The New Strategy, like the U. S. New Look, recognizes that if nuclear weapons really neutralize a large army on the other side, they render unnecessary a large army on your own side. Considering that the United States has produced so many nuclear weapons, it seemed unnecessary for the European countries to produce so many divisions.

It makes sense. It is just hard to be told that you must make a deal with people because they have the manpower to complement your dollars, technology, and industry; and then be told that because of your dollars, technology, and industry there is no need for them to furnish the manpower.

Europe says: "I have some ham, you have some eggs, let's have ham and eggs."

We say: "O.K., here are the eggs."

Europe says: "Fine! With all these eggs, we don't need ham. Shouldn't eat meat anyhow."

Fortune for January 1953 carried an article about the New Strategy: "As Commander of SHAPE, General Eisenhower was the guiding mind behind the strategic plan for the defense of Europe. *Now the momentum of his great project is waning.*" (Italics added.)

What momentum? Just about eight months before the *Fortune* article went to press Averell Harriman was telling an audience in Philadelphia, apologetically, why no substantial results were yet visible: "Another thing to remember" he said, "is the *speed* [Italics added] with which NATO has been developing. After all, it was only two and a half years ago that the North Atlantic Treaty was ratified . . . It was only a year ago that Eisenhower took command of the embryonic forces."

Secretary of Defense Robert A. Lovett told a Congressional Committee that it was "the decisions taken at Lisbon in February 1952 which made NATO operational." (Italics added.)

Fortune, referring to an announcement by Churchill in July 1952 of a "shortfall" in Britain's armament program and a new reliance on air atomic power, said that the "shift in the British position has brought to a head the long-gathering crisis in the NATO defense plan." (Italics added.)

To develop with such speed that you become operational in two and a half years ending in a February, and in July of the same year to have a long-gathering crisis come to a head and reverse your direction, is to make a mighty quick change from "Not yet" to "Too late."

"It is simply that they have concluded," said *Fortune* of the European NATO countries, "that the existing strategy is beyond their economic means—and so put their trust hopefully in the U. S. Deterrent."

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Thus the U. S. Deterrent—our Strategic Air Command — itself is the strongest economic as well as military support of the NATO countries. Which leads us to the next question about NATO.

II

WHAT DOES NATO COST?

THIS APPARENTLY PROSAIC accountant's question turns out to be a cloak-and-dagger mystery.

Time for March 3, 1952 said the NATO Ministers at Lisbon "agreed to spend three hundred billion dollars for mutual defense in the next three years."

February 24, 1952 CBS' David Schoenbrun reported it to be "Today's news that the countries have adopted a three-year schedule based on a 100-division army target and something on the order of a \$300,000,000,000 total expense."

Yet March 18, 1952, before a Senate Committee:

Senator HICKENLOOPER. "Mr. Secretary, at the Lisbon Conference was an estimate developed as to the total over-all dollar program for the rearmament of Europe? It runs in my mind that I saw some place a \$300 billion figure over a period of time as an estimate of some sort."

Secretary ACHESON. "No sir. I saw the story which you refer to. There is absolutely no basis for that whatever, and there was no such figure or any figure discussed for that."

Consider another type of conflict. A State Department pamphlet says: "Since the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in 1949, the United States has contributed over twenty-two billion dollars worth of equipment and other items to support the defense efforts of its European NATO allies." Whoever reads on the run could conclude that down

to the beginning of 1957, when the pamphlet was published, the cost of NATO to the U. S. was twenty-two billion dollars.

Compare the assertion by Harold Lord Varney in the *American Mercury* for August 1956: "Into this NATO rat-hole the United States has poured, since 1949, the unimaginable sum of \$252 billion, according to the Atlantic Council." Whoever reads that on the run might well be stopped in his tracks.

As a matter of fact, these widely divergent statements—unlike the statements of Mr. Acheson, Mr. Schoenbrun, and *Time*—can be reconciled. Mr. Varney and the anonymous State Department author may well be both correct, in some literal sense. They are simply talking about different categories of expenditure.

Suppose that you and I dine together Monday and Tuesday. Monday you pay the check. Tuesday I start to pay the check, but I'm a little short, and you chip in—say one fourth. Now, referring to Tuesday only, we might say that I paid three-fourths, you paid one-fourth. Or, we might talk about Monday and Tuesday combined, in which case we would say that I paid three-eighths and you paid five eighths.

Since most public discussion of NATO costs has centered around the question of U. S. "foreign aid," attention has been focused on how much we help our allies meet *their* NATO obligations, ignoring the cost of our own, which nobody helps us meet.

Last August President Eisenhower in a special news conference told reporters that in ten years the U. S. had "put into the defense part of our mutual security about \$17 billion. Our allies have put \$107 billion."

Assistant Secretary of Defense Mansfield D. Sprague told a House Committee in June: "Important as the

United States contribution to the free-world defense efforts of our allies has been, its cost has been small compared to their own defense expenditures."

Assistant Secretary of State C. Burke Elbrick told a Senate Committee: "During the seven years of the NATO buildup, our European allies have contributed eighty-five per cent of the total cost of *their defense programs*." (Italics added.)

In other words, our contribution to their contribution has been small compared to their contribution. Indeed, they have contributed eighty-five per cent of their own contribution.

This approach can be confusing, as is illustrated by the confusion of the American Council on NATO, Inc., New York 21, N. Y. In a brochure sent free on request (requests are solicited by TV) the Council, omitting any such words as those italicized above, says flatly: "Since NATO was founded in 1949, European members of the alliance have paid for 85% of the total cost." This statement is approximately 85% misinformation.

The meticulous accuracy of Mr. Sprague and Mr. Elbrick leads others naturally, if not logically, to just such gross errors.

NATO itself gives a fairer picture. From a tabulation in the *NATO Letter* of January 1, 1957 we can learn that in eight calendar years—1949 to 1956, inclusive—NATO defenses cost \$372 billion, of which Europe spent \$77 billion, or 21%; the United States \$284 billion, or 76%; and Canada \$11 billion, or 3%. NATO's own statistics therefore make Mr. Varney's report look conservative. And I should think those figures actually set the lower limit.

Costs chargeable to NATO have to be identified in the light of the purposes of NATO. Obviously, such

charges are not limited to the cost of maintaining SHAPE, to the infrastructure, or to assigned troops. They are the costs incurred in effecting or trying to effect the purposes of the North Atlantic Treaty, which are set forth in the Preamble as follows:

...to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

...to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area.

...to unite their efforts for collective defense and for the preservation of peace and security.

The Budget of the United States Government identifies eight major functions of the Government, besides payment of interest on the national debt. Two of these functions have purposes practically the same as those of NATO. From the President's Budget for Fiscal Year 1958:

MAJOR NATIONAL SECURITY. Events in recent months have dramatized the need for strong collective security. The military strength of the United States is a bulwark for world peace and freedom . . . Also, effective support must be given to the defense forces of other nations.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND FINANCE. The United States can work toward its goal of lasting peace by continuing to help its friends overseas protect their freedom from foreign domination and better their economic conditions. This budget is designed to do that. It also provides funds to promote international understanding through a wider exchange of ideas and persons, and to extend a helping hand to refugees from tyranny and victims of famine.

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The parallelism with North Atlantic Treaty purposes is for the most part obvious. Notice the common use of the words *peace, freedom, security*, and especially *collective*, as well as the explicit references in the U. S. document to *world peace and freedom, defense forces of other nations, friends overseas, and international understanding*.

As far as the big picture is concerned, it is fair enough to credit the United States and debit NATO with *all* U. S. Budget expenditures in the categories MAJOR NATIONAL SECURITY and INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND FINANCE. That is the kind of credit which President Eisenhower, Mr. Sprague, and Mr. Elbrick gave *every* NATO country except the United States. And we have seen earlier that NATO has the authority to determine which of our own forces we shall use even in the Far East, even in time of war.

EXPENDITURES OF U. S. GOVERNMENT IN FUNCTIONS SUPPORTING NATO July 1, 1947 - June 30, 1957

In Millions of Dollars

Fiscal Year (ends June 30)	Major National Security	International Affairs and Finance	TOTAL
1948	\$ 11,771	\$ 4,566	\$ 16,337
1949	12,907	6,053	18,960
1950	13,009	4,674	17,683
1951	22,444	3,736	26,180
1952	43,976	2,826	46,802
1953	50,363	2,216	52,579
1954	46,904	1,732	48,636
1955	40,626	2,181	42,807
1956	40,641	1,846	42,487
1957 (estimated)	40,965	2,382	43,347
TOTAL 48-57	\$323,606	\$32,212	\$355,818

From this it appears that the approximate cost of NATO to the United States through June 30, 1957 was \$356 billion.

True, this sum includes aid to countries outside NATO, but it is said of-

ficially and repeatedly that such aid is necessary to U. S. strength in the world, and U. S. strength in the world is NATO's chief asset.

The objection that the sum covers two years before the formation of NATO has been met. Essentially, NATO began with the Truman Doctrine. It may be added that NATO's own tabulation, cited above, credits Greece, Turkey, and West Germany with defense expenditures prior to their admission to the alliance.

One more word about the propriety of charging U. S. defense costs to NATO's account. Suppose that U. S. defenses had continued from the beginning of 1947 to be very weak. Suppose that they had remained essentially negligible, as in 1946 they were. Suppose in particular that we had, as a group of Columbia University professors suggested in a letter in the *New York Times* on February 16, 1946, stopped the production of atomic bombs.

We should, of course, have been in extreme peril. But what is the probability that the United States would have been attacked *before*, or even simultaneously with, Western Europe? Very slight.

What has in fact been the reason why so many authorities have now so long taken it for granted that World War III would begin with an atomic air attack on the United States? Simply the belief that the U. S. Strategic Air Command has grown so powerful that it is unthinkable for the Red Army to move against Western Europe until *after* the United States has been knocked out.

General Gruenther is said to have told the Danes: "If you ask me, can we build direct defense for Copenhagen, I must tell you frankly no. But in reality, the security of Copenhagen is tied directly to the security of Chicago.

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The Soviets cannot win a war by attacking Copenhagen."

They could do just that of course if Chicago could not retaliate, or if Chicago did not care. As it is, Chicago has taken enough heat off Copenhagen for Danish Prime Minister Hansen to reply with admirable firmness to Bulgarian, whose *words* can never hurt Copenhagen. It is thought, however, that the Soviets are assembling quite a collection of sticks and stones for Chicago.

The U. S. Strategic Air Command has had the effect of protecting Western Europe at the cost, not just of some billions, but also of making the U.S.A. a higher-priority target for Soviet attack than is Western Europe.

When you are the champion you expect to live like a champion. Your neck is out, and you pick up the check. But \$356,000,000,000! Is it all right if we look it over for a minute? This is gross. To figure the net, we need to know what we would have done, what we would do, without NATO. That leads to the next question.

III

IS NATO WORTH THE COST?

IT IS ARGUED that NATO is a great success (1) militarily, because the Communists have conquered no large countries since NATO was formed; and (2) economically, because it would increase costs to replace all European NATO troops with Americans. These arguments are simple, plausible, and fallacious.

That the Communists have acquired no new territory as big as China since 1949 means only that we are not dead yet. When steers go from the Texas range to Iowa farms for fattening they achieve a kind of success. NATO is not necessarily like that, but it could be. Granted that, even though the levee holds, you can't expect the river to go

away, and that in many cases "So far, so good" is the only practical motto, nevertheless NATO is too expensive for term insurance. If we were getting a paid-up policy it might be different.

The other claim for NATO—that it is cheaper to keep European troops than to replace them with U. S. troops—assumes that without NATO such replacement would be necessary. But, of course, without NATO our whole strategy might be different.

It could range from making a deal with Russia, taking coexistence at face value for ourselves and letting Europe make her own deal, all the way to preventive war in which we by-passed Europe in a nuclear strike at Red airfields and missile bases, incapacitating the Communists for global action and letting the Old World take it from there.

I certainly do not recommend either of those courses, but either one would be for the time being a lot cheaper than NATO, as is. Of course, we could keep NATO and not keep it as is. We could do what Taft recommended. (Taft made a lot of mistakes, but he was the last American in public life that you could tell was doing any original thinking). We could treat the North Atlantic Pact as a kind of Monroe Doctrine for Europe, but not integrate with European countries our armed services or our budget.

Oddly enough, the New Strategy is tending in just that direction. The feeling grows that a war for Western Europe will not be fought in Western Europe—not the first round anyhow. The presumed major antagonists—Russia and America—will try first to destroy each other, figuring that the survivor can do what he likes with Western Europe. Presumably the hapless maiden would like to help the

knight errant slay the dragon, but she would probably only get in the way. Let her stand by and stay beautiful.

Accepting, or even discounting somewhat, the prevailing assumptions about Soviet strength, Western Europe is too weak and too vulnerable to be a belligerent in an atomic war. The weakness might be remedied, but hardly the vulnerability. General Gruenther told the Danes that Copenhagen cannot be defended, but is safe because it is allied with Chicago. So what would you do if you were a Dane? Sit in the stands and give fifteen 'rah's for Chicago; but not get out on the field, or you'll get hurt, and draw a penalty for your own side to boot.

Three assumptions are solidly embedded in the public-official mentality of the West:

1. That the U.S.A. has terrific air/atomic capability.
2. That the U.S.S.R. has serious air/atomic capability and is rapidly gaining on the U.S.A.
3. That NATO countries, specifically the U.S.A., are morally incapable of striking the first blow in a nuclear war, but that the U.S.S.R. will take any action, including striking the first blow in a nuclear war, which it believes to be to its own advantage.

Based on these assumptions, there has evolved the *Strategy of the Sitting Duck—Armed*.

No one is quite satisfied with this, however, and it is increasingly recognized that: (1) at least the duck can sit further back than in Western Europe, and (2) if we don't watch out the armor will get so heavy it will crush the duck.

The West cannot go on indefinitely spending more and more money on defense. We are familiar with the argument that our European allies cannot spend too much on defense for fear that

it will wreck their economies. That is why we give them aid. But the same argument applies to the United States. It may take more to wreck the American economy than the European, but it could be done. To spend \$61 billion on a DEW-line which, unless the Al-sops and the Kremlin are lying 100% about the intercontinental missile, will be obsolete before it is completed—that is sheer madness.

The time is coming—rather soon, as history goes—when we will simply have to stop producing more elaborate armaments, defensive and offensive, unless we show some ability to do something rational with the armaments we already have. The husky father who cannot control his twelve-year-old son is not going to solve the problem by joining a gym class and lifting—or being—a big dumbbell. He doesn't need more muscles; he needs more sense.

Our danger derives not from the superior strength of the Red Army, and our main problem is not whether to take arms against a sea of Russians. Our danger derives from the superior cunning of the Communist Party. If we leave the initiative always in their hands we cannot survive. Of course if we take the initiative ourselves we run certain risks. It is quite generally recognized that running certain risks is the condition of survival.

My own conclusion is: We should not denounce the North Atlantic Treaty and suddenly back out of NATO; but that—unilaterally, as one says nowadays—we should follow a hard anti-Communist line to its logical conclusion, as MacArthur wanted to do in Korea; and—the better to protect both ourselves and our allies—that we should begin gradually to free ourselves, as Taft in a bring-Washington-up-to-date attitude intended, of the crippling entanglements of alliances.

A FOOTNOTE BY THE EDITOR

We like Mr. Evans' article very much. He has written with restraint and propriety. But as a result he has, in our opinion, been far too kind to NATO in many ways. We do not intend to be a bull in the china shop of all this decorum. But for the sake of plain editorial honesty, we wish to indicate by just two examples how much stronger would be our own criticism and skepticism of NATO than is shown in the attitude of our scholarly contributor.

1. In the first sentence Mr. Evans says that "to weaken the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is a major objective of Communist propaganda." We believe this should read "...is ostensibly a major objective of Communist propaganda." We believe that the Russians only pretend to wish to weaken NATO. We believe that the main drive behind the scenes to expand NATO's activities and strengthen NATO's authority is inspired and planned by Communist influences. For NATO siphons off, into a morass of futility, what might otherwise be a strong clear stream of American defense measures. And as Lord Ismay, chief executive officer of NATO for five years, told the NATO Parliamentary Conference in November, 1956, the goal of NATO is that all of the partners "must be prepared, as I see it, to pool their sovereignty to a greater extent than has been done hitherto." There is nothing the Kremlin wants more than to have the United States pool its money, its military strength, and its sovereignty, in international organizations, whether they be the United Nations, NATO, the ILO, or what have you. For then other na-

tions (in the case of NATO fourteen other nations) can help us to spend our money and to dissipate our strength, while they make our decisions for us.

2. The present "three wise men" of NATO, appointed by the Council about a year ago to revise and expand NATO functions, are Lester Pearson of Canada, Dr. Gaetano Martino of Italy, and Dr. Halvard Lange of Norway. Pearson's well-known "softness" towards Communism became even better known through the Norman affair. Martino negotiated with Molotov a "package" deal that brought Italy into the United Nations, and he favors the admission of Red China. Lange arranged a friendship agreement in Moscow between Norway and the Soviet Union. All three men are decidedly *personae gratae* with the Kremlin, and it is easy to see why the *Daily Worker* enthusiastically cheered their appointments. It is even easier to see why Russia would not really want the shackles of NATO over its members loosened, or the collective "guidance" of the West by NATO weakened, when you consider this: In January, 1957, these "three wise men" of NATO defined the aims of the West as "finding a secure and honorable basis for competitive and ultimately for cooperative co-existence with the Communist World." (We don't know whether Khrushchev wrote this platform of purposes for NATO or not, but he might as well have.) So there is what your \$284 billion handed NATO—more than our total admitted national debt—is being spent to achieve.

HOW TO TALK TO THE SAUCERS

by

H. JOLIET BRUNERCROW

The author of this article and your editor are both aware that not more than one-fourth of the readers of this magazine will like it. One-half will be merely bored, and the other one-fourth actually annoyed, by such pedantic fantasy — if it is fantasy. But we ask the indulgence of the seventy-five percent (who can simply skip it) for the sake of the pleasure the twenty-five percent may find in following the author's reasoning and speculation.

We, of Earth, are rapidly reaching the point where space travel, by ourselves, will be possible. This is certainly additional evidence that beings on other planets may — as Donald Keyhoe so convincingly asserts — have already attained that ability. It is not necessary to settle the question, however. Let us merely suppose—just suppose, without getting into any argument about it—that the “flying saucers” do come from outer space. With that hypothesis once accepted, certain conclusions seem justified.

First, since none of the saucers, or physical wrecks thereof, have been discovered anywhere on the earth's surface, these objects also *return* to outer space. They report to some home planet or advance base, either in our solar system or in some other solar system of our Milky Way. And either these same saucers, or others like them, come back again and again for further inspection of Earth.

Second, these saucers contain, and are controlled by, intelligent beings. The possibility that they are unpiloted missiles manipulated by remote control, sent to Earth's surface for information which can be gathered by instruments,

cannot be ignored. But the available evidence, and the scientific probabilities, both seem decidedly in favor of intelligent control on the spot.

Third, the beings that manufactured such flying apparatuses are considerably ahead of us in technological development. The chances are, therefore, that they at least equal us, and may far surpass us, in general intelligence; and that in some particular fields their knowledge, or their reasoning powers, or both, are definitely superior to our own.

And fourth, sooner or later one of these saucers will land on earth, or hover visibly and openly at a comparatively low altitude, to investigate the possibilities of communication with the strange animals—ourselves—that the crew of the saucer can observe moving about and unmistakably alive.

This short paper addresses itself simply to the one problem of initiating such reciprocal communication.

* * *

WE COULD NOT KNOW whether these visitors had a form like anything of which we had ever conceived, or had evolved in an environment producing either experiences, interests, or mental

attitudes at all similar to our own. Even less could we count on their having a written or spoken method of communication which, however unintelligible to us, would fall into a classification that we could call language. Even if they did, by some cosmic compulsions to parallels in evolution, have a “language”, we could not expect to establish communication through it, nor through ours, in the beginning. But since all animal senses are but development in degree of the sense of touch, which is universal in the animal kingdom, it would be a reasonable assumption—one that we have already made, in fact —that these visitors did possess a sense of sight. The first communication could be undertaken on that basis, therefore (although the sense of hearing would serve equally well for the process we propose.)

To avoid exploring too many alternatives then, let's take for granted that the visitors do have a satisfactorily developed sense of sight, and that they have the mechanical power to make a light, readily visible from the earth's surface, which they can turn off and on at will. We ourselves bring into play a powerful searchlight which we also can turn off and on as we wish. So far as mechanics are concerned, both we and they are now in position to express all of the thoughts any beings of either planet have ever been able to put into language.

For we now have two antithetical symbols available; a short and a long, or a left and a right. Let's designate these symbols as *a* and *b*. This puts at our disposal a principle which is undoubtedly almost as old as language itself. It has been used extensively in modern times, as in wigwag, and in the Morse code for telegraphing. It was used by Francis Bacon three hundred years ago, in his bilateral cipher. Poly-

bios described the Greek armies using it, with torches swung back and forth, centuries before the Christian era. These two opposing symbols, as the basis of the binary system of numbers, supply the principle on which the great electronic “brains” operate today. And, dressed up as 1 and 0 in this binary system, Leibnitz said that they contained, in their potential combinations, the totality of God and man. Thus, with the physical means at hand for the conveyance of any thought that man can express, we are down to the final problem of a “language” that both the visitors and we have in common and can understand.

There is one such language, and only one. That is mathematics. For its principles hold, unchanged by evolution, distance, environment, or the nature of intelligences, throughout the universe. It is the one area of knowledge which, to some extent, visitors of any shape and any experience, from any planet in any galaxy, would be bound to have in common with ourselves. This universal language of mathematics would supply our one possibility of discovering immediately a common denominator of intelligence with the crew of a flying saucer. Let's call the man in charge of the experiment on our side Mr. X; and the “captain” of the flying saucer, the Visitor. The earliest communications might get under way somewhat as we describe them below.

* * *

MR. X., USING SHORT equal flashes of light, with short equal intervals between them, but with much longer periods between the groups of such flashes, would begin by simply counting in cardinal numbers: a aa aaa aaaa aaaaa aaaaaa aaaaaaa aaaaaaaaa. He would then repeat this count, from one to ten.

There is no intelligence, capable of building machines, that would not recognize this sequence, no matter by what "names" or thought processes its separate items were identified. So we can assume that the Visitor would come back with the same series, possibly carrying it on to the larger groups, eleven and twelve, to show that he understood. And thus the first "meeting of the minds" would be established, presumably with pleasurable excitement on both sides.

The Visitor might, in fact, go on consecutively to a group of twenty flashes. This would suggest that the doubling of the number was exploratory at his end. Mr. X should then show his recognition of this intent by flashing 1 2, 3 6, 7 14, or any series involving the repeated multiplication by two. Let's assume that the Visitor would return 1 2 4 8 16, thus offering a new series and incorporating an extension of the principle of multiplication by two into what we call the "powers" of cardinal numbers. Mr. X should answer with 1 3 9 27. Then, having shown recognition of expansion series, he might try to introduce his second symbol, the long flash—or *b*—into the game.

Using short flashes only, Mr. X would count up to ten; then a pause; then a short flash followed by a long one; then a repetition of the count to ten in short flashes, a pause, and a repetition of the *a b* symbols together; then the same sequence repeated once more. The Visitor would surely grasp that he was being shown two ways of saying the same thing; that *aaaaaaaa* and *a b* were equal.

Since our use of the decimal system derives, ultimately, from the fact that we have ten fingers, it is quite likely that the Visitor would not be using the same base, ten, for his multiple in

expressing large numbers. He might be using seven as a base, or twelve. He might even have such highly developed and strictly logical mathematical processes that he would normally be using the binary system, based on two. But he would readily understand what was meant, nevertheless. To prove this he might come back with *a b* (for 10), *aa b* for 20), *aaa b* (for 30) ... etc. *aaaaaaaa b* (for 90), *a bb* (for 100). In other words, he would count by tens up to one hundred, with his expression for that number clearly showing a knowledge of the "decimal" principle. Equally important, he would have shown ready recognition and acceptance of the distinction between long and short flashes, or the symbols *a* and *b*. By this time it would probably be morning.

* * *

THE NEXT EVENING both parties could rejoice at how much had already been accomplished, as a base from which to start. And there would be a natural tendency to explore in new directions. Almost certainly there would be some false starts, some jumps by one side to intended meanings or thought conveyances which the other side could not grasp. After such failures it would always be necessary to return to a repetition of some of the fundamentals that were unmistakably clear to both the Visitor and Mr. X, in order to re-establish a base of confidence, before venturing on new explorations again. But despite such lost motions and discouragements, much of the night could profitably be spent in exchanging examples in addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division, until there was no doubt as to a complete meeting of the minds—or meeting of the intelligences, if mind is too specific a word—on all of those processes. Then both

sides would be ready for the next tremendous step.

When the repetition, of such series as 3 7 10, 4 6 10, 5 11 16, 3 17 20 had made their purport absolutely clear, a new mental tool could be introduced. A five-symbol combination, such as *ababa*, might be adopted as the sign of addition, or the symbol for "plus". The same sequences would then be run as 3 *ababa* 7 10; 4 *ababa* 6 10; 5 *ababa* 11 16; 3 *ababa* 17 20. Thus the whole thought which we express by the word "and" would have been made mutually understandable. In the same way *babab* could be established to mean "minus", "subtract", "less", "take away", "remove". And the pattern would be simultaneously established that five-symbol groupings represented non-numerical conceptions, or what we call "words"; while groupings of less than five symbols would ordinarily be expected to continue to represent numbers. The groundwork would thus be laid for an elementary vocabulary of thirty-two words, this being the possible number of variations in the grouping of two symbols in combinations of five.

It would be quite simple then to establish, let us say, *aaaaa*, as meaning "yes", or "true" (when its other meaning of "five" obviously did not apply); and to add *bbbbb*, meaning "no", or "not true", to the growing language. It would be necessary only to repeat many true and false series, intermingled, with the symbols for "yes" and "no" at the end of each. The key to progress would lie in making each step gained so fundamental and so certain, at the cost of as many repetitions and monotonous variations as might be needed. Then each short advance beyond that would be both obvious as a new venture, and easier to grasp because of the clarity of the base of understanding on

which it was taken. By the time a few five-symbol units had been identified as word thoughts, and their significance unmistakably confirmed on both sides, it would undoubtedly be morning, and the occasion for a recess once more.

* * *

THE WORDS (or thoughts) "up", "down", "times", or "multiplied by", and the present indicative of the verb "to be", could now be established so easily that explanation is not even necessary. And of course each new word added would help to bring earlier word-symbols into sharper understanding and greater usefulness. Again progress would be faltering, and sometimes disappointing misconnections would occur. But thirty-two elementary word-thoughts would, in due course, become the common property of both the Visitor and Mr. X.

From then on the joint advance, while it might frequently make use of more complicated reasoning, would through that very advantage also be more rapid. The movement to six-unit symbols, such as *ababab*, for more complex word thoughts, would be easy. Thus the matrix for sixty-four more "words" would become available. Now, suppose that *abbba* had been arrived at as meaning "middle", "in between" (through showing it as neither "up" nor "down"). Then giving *abbab* the meaning of "exactly in the middle", or "in exact proportion between", would be simple. A certain amount of this compounding of extensions of thought onto prior five-symbol concepts would facilitate progress, and improve earlier concepts again—this time by *generalizing* their significance. This would be especially true as Mr. X and the Visitor moved on to seven-symbol and larger groupings for new, and frequently

HOW TO TALK TO THE SAUCERS

more precise, tools of intercommunication.

The use of seven-symbol combinations would provide for 128 more such mental tools; of eight-symbol groups, 256; nine-symbol groups, 512; ten-symbol groups, 1024. This means the total of "words" which could be represented, by the time ten-symbol combinations were reached and used, would be 2016—enough for a quite satisfactory basic vocabulary. How such concrete nouns as "man" and "machine", abstract nouns as "life" and "thought" and "hunger", verbs like "move" and "build", pronouns like "we" and "you", and a hundred other necessary concepts, could be introduced with positive clarity of meaning into this elementary vocabulary — the whole continuing development makes a fascinating study. But, for lack of room, we shall have to leave it to the reader's own imagination.

At some point, probably long before the full 2016 words were acquired, there would almost certainly be a return to mathematics, as the one original field of some common *knowledge*. This would make possible some very helpful exchanges of information in the direction of "getting acquainted." For while the Visitor might know little about distances on Earth's surface, and even less about our units of measurement, he would undoubtedly know the *proportions* in celestial distances even

better than would Mr. X. So it would not take long to establish symbols for the various planets of our solar system, in their order of distance from the sun. It would take only a little longer to determine whether the Visitor was from a planet of our system, and which one; or from the retinue of some other sun, in really "outer space"—and approximately how far away.

If there were patience, determination, and good will on both sides, we could visualize Mr. X signalling, at the end of a few weeks, some message like the following, in symbols perfectly intelligible to the visitor:

"We, of the planet Earth, welcome you and your companions, from the planet of the solar system M, to our humble environment and to the semi-civilized society which exists here. We can arrange to supply you the particular proportion of oxygen and other elements which you need in order to live at all outside of your space ships; the particular atmospheric pressures which your organic entities require in order neither to convulse nor to explode; and probably the kind of food or fuel for those organic entities which will sustain your metabolic processes. So tell us what you need; then come on down for goodness sakes, and let's be friends. This has been a lonesome little ball of mud ever since we became conscious of its size and insignificance in stellar space."

You May Have Missed

"When I was a boy, it was considered not only safe but honorable to create an estate, so that almost all men of standing wished to add to their possessions, and felt a certain dignified honor in prospering; but now one must apologize for any success in business as if it were the utter violation of moral law, so that today it is worse to seem to prosper than to be an open criminal."

The reason you may have missed the above paragraph is that it is part of a speech delivered by Isocrates in 345 B.C.

BULLETS

God's plan made a hopeful beginning,
But man spoiled his chances by sinning.

We trust that the story
Will end in God's glory,
But at present the other side's winning.

Will The Author Please Claim

* * *

Never in history have so few deceived
so many.

*The Russian Revolutionary
Forces (About NTS)*

* * *

If you don't think women are explosive,
just drop one.

Quoted by Major Squirm

* * *

The choice is not peaceful coexistence
or war: Coexistence is war.

William Jenner

* * *

Business man: "I took an aptitude
test this afternoon. Thank goodness I
own the company."

Davenport Daily Times

* * *

There is an off season for nearly all
flowers except the blooming idiot.

Me, Sir? No, Sir. Not I, Sir.

* * *

Waiting for the Communists to
strike is the surest way to suicide.

Pynn Yung Tai

* * *

Dear Doctor: Please send me the
name of a good book on personal hygiene.
I think I've got it.

*A Letter Quoted in WOODEN
BARREL*

* * *

As we have therefore opportunity,
let us do good unto all men.

Galatians VI, 10.

* * *

A small town is one where everybody
knows whose check is good and
whose wife isn't.

Jack Sterling

A hopeful bachelor in Sydney, Australia, inserted the following classified ad in the local newspaper: "Man old enough to know better would like to meet a girl not quite that old."

Tide

* * *

The big print giveth and the small
print taketh away.

United Mine Workers' Journal

* * *

The lodge meeting was postponed.
The wife of the Grand Exalted Invin-
cible Supreme Potentate wouldn't let
him out tonight.

General Features

* * *

People who live in stone houses
should not throw glass unless they
wear shoes.

Quoted by Fred Gymer

* * *

Joe told his girl he was a go-getter
but she was looking for an already-
gotter.

Enos Magazine

* * *

The natural effort of every individual
to better his own condition is so power-
ful that it is alone, and without any
assistance, not only capable of carrying
on the society to wealth and prosperity,
but of surmounting a hundred imper-
tinent obstructions with which the folly
of human laws too often incumbers its
operations.

Adam Smith

* * *

We hold no commission from God
Almighty to be the world's policeman.

Benjamin Harrison

* * *

For some men die by shrapnel,
And some go down in flames,
But most men perish inch by inch,
In play at little games.

Robert D. Abrahams

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- No. 7 A Short Biography of Chiang Kai-shek
- No. 8 A Biographical Sketch of Konrad Adenauer
- No. 9 The New Americanism

ROBERT WELCH, Inc., Belmont 78, Massachusetts

AMERICAN O

An Informal Review

Belmont

December 2, 1957

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. Boardman ✓
Mr. Belmont ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Nease ✓
Mr. Parsons ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tamm ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Mr. Clayton ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Mr. Holloman ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

Dear Reader:

Our goal is to give you your time's worth.

You can get your money's worth of reading value and pleasure today, in any one of a dozen periodicals at any newsstand. But in every paragraph of AMERICAN OPINION we shall be conscious of the pressure on your time.

We spend hours to make worth-while the lines which you will read in minutes.

If you are looking for a complete serving of planet-wide news and views, which you can still gulp down while waiting for your wife to find the car keys, we can't help you. Nobody can. But we shall do our utmost to give you, for the time you invest in each issue of this magazine, a compacted bargain of information, analysis, and authoritative opinion -- concerning the personalities and the events of a world which is "too much with us."

The first number of AMERICAN OPINION will appear on January 6, 1958.

It is an outgrowth of ONE MAN'S OPINION, a now-and-then magazine of which eleven issues have been published. The earlier magazine, while largely a medium of expression for its editor, has also contained letters and guest articles written specifically for it by Ex-Premier Mikolajczyk of Poland, Syngman Rhee, Senator William F. Knowland, Chiang Kai-shek, General A. C. Wedemeyer, and others. Its more conventional successor, to be published monthly (except for August) throughout the year, will be "rounded out" by articles and regular features from such well-known contributors as William Schlamm, Medford Evans, Hans Sennholz, Colm Brogan, J. B. Matthews, and Ludwig von Mises.

AMERICAN OPINION will keep the flavor and character of an "informal review".

We shall consider honesty and objectivity, in our treatment of every person and every subject, to be of vital importance. But "impartiality" we shall scorn as a combination of pretense and cowardice. The very name of this magazine is designed to make clear its stand in the world-wide ideological struggle between the americanist and the communist philosophies, and in the political battles between Americanist and Communist factions. Its deep concern with the methods and the progress of the Kremlin's conspiracy will not endear it to the friends of Alger Hiss. Its appraisal of what is good and what is bad, among the forces and trends of American history of the past and the present, will seldom agree with that of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. Its keen interest as to what is happening, in every one of the 110 countries (more or less) in our shrinking world, will be from a nationalistic viewpoint of which Henry Luce will not approve. And its attitude toward the duties, the responsibilities, and the aspirations of individual human beings will hardly please such prominent spokesmen of the let-government-do-it school as Hugh Gaitskell, Adlai Stevenson, Soapy Williams -- or Milton Eisenhower.

The subscription price of AMERICAN OPINION is five dollars per year.

Unexpired subscriptions to ONE MAN'S OPINION will automatically be filled out with the new magazine. The list with which we thereby start consists of only a few thousand readers. Because of the kind of appeal that has attracted these subscribers, however, they constitute about as selective a roll call of influential Americans as any editor could wish for assistance. Mass circulation remains beyond our reach -- or aim. But if you also are among those to whom "your time's worth" is important, we think you will like our magazine and we hope you will use the subscription form which is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

1958
January 17, 1957

Attached is a copy of "American
Opinion" for February, 1958, sent
to the Director from Robert Welch,
Belmont 78, Massachusetts.

The FBI is mentioned on pages 14. & 12.

Attachment
hbb

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Mr. Boardman ☒
Mr. Belmont ☒
Mr. Mohr ☒
Mr. Nease ☒
Mr. Parsons ☒
Mr. Rosen ☒
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Mr. Trotter ☒
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Tele. Room ☒
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TAX REFORM TO STRENGTHEN AMERICA

Wm. J. Grede

COLD FACTS ABOUT DISCRIMINATION

Hubert Kregeloh

Other Articles And Regular Features

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AN INFORMAL REVIEW

Volume I Number I

FEBRUARY 1958

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AMERICAN OPINION

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January 2, 1958

Dear Reader:

A great American patriot has said that historians of the future, looking back on this period of America's gradual surrender to Communism, will marvel most at the lack of resistance of those who had the most to lose.

To do our small part to prevent that tragedy, we are trying to reach, with this magazine, the intelligent, hard working, prosperous business executives, professional men, and other direct beneficiaries of our Americanist system. It is our objective to bring to this audience not more *knowledge*, but a better *understanding*, of current events—when viewed against the background of the methods and menace of the Communist conspiracy.

Our concern with the Communist plot and plotters, however, will not keep us from looking with wide-eyed interest at other activities of a much too busy world. You will even find us laughing now and then. But the laughter will be mostly *with*, rather than *at*, our companions in this sometimes pleasant and always exciting caravanserai between birth and death.

Finally, despite our two years of experience with the predecessor of this publication, we are far from being professionals, as we are well aware. We ask your indulgence while we gradually learn the techniques that convert a sheaf of articles into a magazine. And we promise in return that, from the very beginning, we shall try our utmost to give you *your time's worth* in every page you ever read in AMERICAN OPINION.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

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EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Mr. Schlam, too well known to readers of conservative publications to need any introduction here, is in Europe. For the next several months he will send us from Europe, for each issue of this magazine, a concise review of current developments on that continent. This first article in the series was mailed from Vienna the middle of December.

EUROPE'S PARAMOUNT FEELING about America has perceptibly changed. It's no longer resentment. It's now contempt. Europeans speak about America, today, the way Americans used to joke about the Ruritania of operetta's never-never land — an old-fashioned and ludicrous realm, crowded with improbable characters, blundering busybodies and, on the whole, rather attractive boobs. And should anybody think this statement exaggerated, he ought to join me for a short stay in Vienna.

Now Vienna is without a doubt the least anti-American capital of the Continent. Nowhere else has Communist penetration been so thoroughly reduced, and the proverbially friendly people of this city still remember the American Army, that decisive balance against the Soviet tide, with gratitude and even private nostalgia. And yet, the last few weeks it was tough to be an American in Vienna. Even when he is used to the normal chilling haughtiness of Europeans, an American is simply unprepared for the humiliating pity he is currently shown wherever he goes. For the first time in several generations, Americans are considered, in Europe, the stuff operettas are made of. What brought

this about is, of course, "Spättnik" (Viennese for Late-nik).

For what happened was, as usual, the unexpected. In the eyes of the Continent, America has now proved itself incompetent in the one sphere where Europe had willingly conceded American superiority — in the area of technology. For decades the Continent had assumed axiomatically that America can out-produce, out-invent, out-engineer any European combination of technological prowess. And this, in the opinion of Europeans, was America's only claim to leadership. This claim has now been lost — completely.

The effect of the Soviet gain in launching the first earth satellite was bad enough. Never before had Europe — always jittery about the Communists' political acumen — been also afraid of technological Communist competence. On the contrary, the Soviet troops, still so shudderingly remembered here, were particularly ghastly because, in addition to moral barbarism, they displayed that notorious amazement about the simplest gadgetry of modern living. And, all of a sudden, the incredulous admirers of wristwatches were the first to leap into outer space! But incomparably worse,

FEBRUARY, 1958

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incomparably more catastrophic for the American position in the world, was the cumulative effect of these last four American weeks; the incredible weeks of loud advance boasting about a smaller satellite, followed by the launching fiasco of December 5 and 6 — the impact of which will be felt for years to come.

It is not the concern of this report (nor has a traveler so far away from home the required information) to contemplate the reasons for the blunder of the age. Its consequences for United States foreign policy (my subject) are obvious enough: The United States is considered, not only on the streets and in the cabarets but also in the chancelleries of Europe, disarmed, not quite worthy of firm alliances, and anyhow, for the moment, neutralized. There are even some serious statesmen in Europe who insist that, at least in the near future, an alliance with America will be a suicidal liability. Which, among many other things, means that the Eisenhower Administration, to continue its unimaginative Foreign Aid policy (and it has no other idea) will have to pay a tremendous special premium for the privilege of giving away United States money. As it is dangerous to be seen in American company, the escorts we keep soliciting will have to get special rewards. That slumming abroad gets more and more expensive.

Mr. Kennan To The Fray . . .

The Democrats seem to have set up an American Government-in-Exile in Europe, ostensibly headed by Mr. George Kennan who, indeed, is currently getting far more front-page space in the serious European press than both Dulles brothers, with Mr. McElroy

thrown in. Nor is one by any means certain that Mr. Kennan (formally on a year's fellowship at Oxford, England) speaks for the opposition only. His latest bombshell — a lecture on the neutralization of Germany that, for weeks now, remains the No. 1 subject for all editorialists and politicians of the Old World — detonated with overtones of tacit State Department approval. And it wouldn't be the first time that the Eisenhower Administration waits for a Democratic advance endorsement of a policy it intends to execute — if only to shift the responsibility from the Republican Executive to the Democratic Senate.

Mr. Kennan, speaking in London, addressed Moscow. He advanced, once more, the notorious program of all American "liberals" and appeasers as the great illumination of the post-Sputnik hour: Let us withdraw all NATO forces from West Germany if the Soviets withdraw their forces from Eastern Europe; and, once West and East Germany are reunited, such a new Germany should withdraw from NATO, disarm (for all practical purposes) and solemnly declare its status as an eternally "neutral" power. The Soviets, promised Mr. Kennan, could not very well reject such a universally satisfying settlement of not only all German but all European problems.

In this one promise, at least, Mr. Kennan proved to be entirely correct. Less than a week after his speech, Mr. Khrushchev (in an interview that, to my knowledge, has been criminally underplayed in the United States press) announced that he is prepared to "support" the Kennan proposal. Which to those who understand the nature of Communism, and the problems of Eu-

rope, was like solemnly announcing that Mr. Khrushchev is in favor of caviar. The Kennan proposal (known in the United States, for the last ten years, also as the Lippmann Line) of course "offers" the Soviets exactly what they desire *most* — the "neutralization" of Germany, the only European power that could hopefully resist the next revolutionary onslaught of Communism. The Soviets keep troops in the satellite countries, not so much to bolster there the Communist regimes (which could be just as effectively done by Soviet "volunteers" in the satellite police forces), but to high-pressure West Germany into "neutralization." Messrs. Kennan, Lippmann, *et al.*, keep "offering" the Soviets their very strategic goal if, on *achieving* it, they would only renounce the (now utterly superfluous) tools of the preceding operation. It is like "offering" burglars the safe deposits of a bank, if they have only left the jimmies at home.

The Effect in Germany . . .

Yet the reverberations of Mr. Kennan's poor speech, I am sorry to report, were epochal. In the first place, the German Social Democracy, whose "neutrality" had been thoroughly trounced by Dr. Adenauer's electoral victory only a few months ago, immediately re-emerged with its seemingly abandoned policy of German and European suicide, as if rejuvenated by Dr. Kennan's injection. And once more German "neutrality" is an articulate and aggressive force in German politics. Moreover, all over Europe the crypto-neutralists are getting dangerously noisy. By some universal misunderstanding, Mr. Kennan's manifesto is interpreted as an almost official United States encourage-

ment to all appeasement factions in Western Europe. (And, as I said, I am not so sure myself that it is a misunderstanding.)

For instance, the *London Times* has, for the first time in years, openly supported a policy of neutralizing Germany; and it is a sinister habit of the *London Times* to anticipate in editorials what, a few months later, becomes the policy of His or Her Majesty's Government. True, the *Times* did not, in so many words, endorse the Kennan manifesto in its entirety. It confined its approval to the "practical" suggestion that, to condition the world for the forthcoming total "settlement," NATO should not build missile bases in Western Germany. But this, of course, *contains* the recognition of German "neutrality." For, if West Germany (to secure for her a special role in a Western deal with the Soviets) were to be released from armament responsibilities which other NATO members would still have to shoulder, regardless of any consequences to their security, then the *whole* Kennan sequence follows irresistibly. A West Germany without missile bases *is* neutralized. And if the forthcoming "summit" NATO Conference in Paris were to abide by Mr. Kennan's and the *London Times'* recommendations, the battle for Europe would be practically over.

The Effect In Spain . . .

Of all the European changes of voice none was more surprising (and perhaps indicative) than Generalissimo Franco's. In a peculiarly measured speech, to which he himself ascribed extraordinary importance, Franco not only congratulated the Soviets on their Sputnik hits but emphasized, with deliberate accents

on the "theoretical" part of his speech, that such successes can be only achieved where the majesty of planning and "order" prevails. Generalissimo Franco, in short, was the first conservative statesman in Europe to build some kind of bridge from anti-Communist belligerency to "prudent mutual respect."

Franco, of course, has not changed one iota of his convictions. And he is, in all truth, not even so terribly impressed by the Soviets' technological advance, technology being just about the last thing to impress a true Spaniard. What has impressed the Caudillo is the American posture of shameful helplessness. Fifteen years ago Hitler, to his growing distress, noticed that Franco pays greater attention to the prevailing winds than to the pious homilies in the logbook; and, in steering the course for Spain, insists on safety first and friendships later. And just as the Generalissimo, in 1943, adjusted Spain's position to the still forming superiority of Allied power over Hitler's, just so, in 1957, he seems to give the next round of the current power game to the Soviets — and to adjust Spanish articulation, if not Spanish policies, accordingly.

No matter what the Caudillo utters in public, Spain remains one of the few true candidates for a sensible United States policy of firm alliances — simply because Spain cannot switch sides in the struggle against World Communism without a deadly spasm of renewed Civil War. The Caudillo, of course, knows this better than any one else. But he also knows that the American umbrella is gone; and that a small country like Spain had better protect itself, *coste que coûte*, from the on-setting downpour.

Europe Is Prosperous . . .

The tremors that are currently shaking Europe are apparently of a new type. The Continent is more prosperous than it has been in an entire generation, or more; and the prosperity, to tell the truth, seems to be even sounder than that of the United States.

In Europe, to begin with, prosperity is not based on installment buying. The anticipation of future purchasing power is here still a widely unknown economic habit and, significantly, only a West Germany (that is, the only European nation to realize the normal tendencies of a free market) begins to exploit the possibilities of credit buying to the hilt. But though this optimistic self-propulsion of demand remains essential for United States prosperity, it is also structurally dangerous; any considerable drop in confidence can, in an economy based on installment buying, snowball into a buyers' sit-down strike and a serious clogging-up of sales channels. In this sense, the Europe that does not yet know the full blessings of purchases on consumers' credit does not know its menacing dangers either. Its prosperity looks somehow sounder and more stable than America's. It is visibly based on tremendous increases of productivity, stimulated by the urgent and vital demands of a war-torn Continent.

But Uneasy . . .

And yet, as I said, the tremors that vibrate underneath this Old World are very real. They are political — but "political" in a very profound sense. The Continent, though hardly anybody here is articulate about this, senses acutely the depth of the real dilemma. It is *not* that the West has yet to find its strategy for a possible clash with the

Soviet East. The real dilemma is that the Soviets, more and more clearly, are bound to profit from what is loosely called "peace", and wish nothing as sincerely as its continuation. By the same token, the essential interests of the West ought to point towards a determined and aggressive policy of attack *that takes a calculated risk of war*. But how is a Christian civilization — and one that, contradictorily, is based on a concept of bodily comfort above all — to face such a challenge? How can such a civilization seriously contemplate a voluntary decision in the direction of *deliberate* war risks?

This dilemma, more than anything else, is at the bottom of the tremendous (though subconscious) uneasiness that a perceptive observer can notice everywhere in this indescribably attractive and livable Old World. It is, clearly, at the bottom of the deep-rooted skepticism that precedes the NATO Summit Conference in Paris. What could the profoundly frustrated leaders of the West possibly produce except another proof of their frustration? Paradoxically, if the Soviet intention were indeed war, even a paralyzed Eisenhower would, it is quite likely, lead the West into resistance. But what if the real Soviet intentions are "peace"? What if a continuation of that "peace" were to assure the Soviets of incessant progress throughout the so-called free world? What if the only rational alternative for the West were to *enforce*, therefore, a showdown, even if it meant war? The answer, of course, is embarrassed silence. There *is*, it seems, no answer to this nettle of a problem in a Christian and comfortable world. There certainly will be no answer forthcoming from the Summit Conference.

The Communists Wage War With "Peace" As A Weapon . . .

The Soviets are making the most of their historically superior position — a position, that is, which quite authentically equips them, and them alone, with the decisive propagandistic tool of the age, a maudlin insistence on "peace." Bulganin's letters to the heads of the British, French, German, Indian and United States Governments, on the eve of the Paris Conference, have petrified its proceedings in advance. The Summit Conference is bound to prove, rather desperately, that the West, "too," desires "peace" more than anything else. No matter what the Western Governments may invent to bolster the sagging Western confidence in NATO, the essential result of the wildly over-sold Paris meeting must be a further incentive to the central Soviet menace — the Communist ballyhoo about "peace." This fraud has, on the whole, produced absolutely staggering results during the last few years, in Europe, as well as in Asia and the Near East.

And Keep On Winning . . .

At the recent Moscow Conference of sixty-eight Communist Parties, on the occasion of the Soviet Revolution's fortieth birthday, the new Soviet deputy in charge of what used to be called Comintern, Michael Suslov, had a staggering and, unfortunately, quite correct figure to report: At the last get-together of International Communism, before World War II, forty-three Communist Parties were represented, with a total membership figure of slightly more than four million members; but last November, at the triumphant meeting in Moscow, seventy-five Communist Parties could be of-

ficially counted, with a total membership of thirty-three million. This rate of growth — eight hundred percent in twenty years — is approximately also the rate of growth of Communist power throughout the world: Since 1938, Communism has conquered — beyond the confines of the Soviet Union proper — the eastern half of Europe, China, most of Southeast Asia, strategic areas in the Near East; and has established immensely portentous footholds throughout Western Europe, in India, Malaya, Korea, North Africa, and in South America.

Europeans, by no means dumb, keep asking themselves: Whence this apparently uncheckable advance of Communism? Is it just plain jinx that everything we touch goes wrong, and everything the Soviets touch turns into gold? One cannot speak for a few minutes to a serious person in Paris, or Brussels, or Munich, or Vienna, without hitting the central suspicion: That the key to the apparently unstoppable Soviet march is not the strength or persuasiveness of Communism but the catatonia of the West. ("Catatonia" is a European five-dollar word meaning a hysterical state of, usually fright-induced, motionlessness.) Even in the midst of the all-European derision about America's technological inadequacy in matching the Sputnik stunt, even in this general readiness to discount America altogether, no European in his right mind denies that the United States, if it *wanted* to, could make hash of World Communism. The point is that no European in his right mind considers even the possibility that the United States *would* want it. Nor does he, in his heart of hearts, *wish* America would. For he, if anything, is

even more paralyzed than the American by the essential dilemma that has crippled the whole West: The hazy recognition that only a posture that accepts war could save the West, while "peace" works for International Communism. From the horrors of that dilemma, the American flees into a nice economic boom; while the European, equally enjoying this unparalleled prosperity, flees into a skeptical anti-Americanism, underlined with a coquettish melancholia that Europeans, since the end of the Nineteenth Century, have loved to display in their lapel.

But Marx Loses One Point . . .

To end this first report on a gayer note (though the news will also arouse the righteous envy of United States taxpayers), Austria has just announced its reform of income tax. This lovely little country of about seven million people, hardly emerged from the destructions of a cruel war, and straining all of its resources to rebuild not only its industry but just its elementary housing — Austria has just *reduced* the income tax.

In the highest income bracket (one million Schilling, or \$40,000, and over) the income tax is now thirty-eight percent. *No Austrian can be taxed higher.*

It will also interest those Americans who, in 1952 and 1956, have voted for a Republican Party they thought to be the center and rally of conservatism, that the Austrian Government is a coalition of Christian Democrats and Socialists. In other words, an Austrian Socialist approves of income tax cuts of which alleged United States conservatives would not dare to dream. There is here a moral somewhere, but I shall contemplate it next month.

ABOUT SOUTH VIETNAM

by

HILAIRE DU BERRIER

In the November issue of ONE MAN'S OPINION we presented a rough index of the present degree of Communist strength — according to our estimate—in almost all of the nations of the world.

The final list on this scoreboard was of those few (and mostly weak) countries where firm, honest, and continued opposition to Communism could still be taken for granted. We began this roll call with South Korea and Formosa. But to the surprise of some of our readers, we did not include South Vietnam at all. This appraisal by omission was based on some serious doubts as to the true state of affairs in the Saigon government. The following article, which we had not seen at that time, and which is now reprinted by permission from the ECONOMIC COUNCIL LETTER, will help to explain and justify those doubts.

The author, Hilaire du Berrier, is a native of North Dakota. He has spent most of the years since 1937 in the Far East — three of them as a prisoner of the Japanese. He has been thoroughly familiar with affairs in Indochina under France, Japan, the Communists, and the regime that followed the fall of Dien Bien Phu. His article raises many important questions. Among them: Have some of the most ardent anti-Communists in America again been gulled by clever Communist propaganda, and by the machinations of Communist sympathizers within our government?

THE STORY OF DEMOCRACY'S FAILURE in South Vietnam is also the story of

Diem was raised in the north, son of a nine-button Mandarin, or court official, under the Emperor Kai Dinh. He had little or no contact with the common people, was never a leader in any of the Nationalist parties that struggled for independence. Of his five brothers,

one was killed by the Communists. Thuc became a bishop. Luyen is now President Ngo dinh Diem. Theoretically the two came in together via the Geneva Accord of 1954. With them, as a result of military defeat at Dien Bien Phu, French influence ended and American began.

Diem became a bishop. Luyen is now President Ngo dinh Diem. Theoretically the two came in together via the Geneva Accord of 1954. With them, as a result of military defeat at Dien Bien Phu, French influence ended and American began.

Life Magazine, usually not daunted by research, said of Diem on May 13, 1957, "Just how Ngo dinh Diem came to power has never been divulged." Hans Morgenthau, of the University of Chicago, spoke of him as "a man who two years ago was little more than a

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name pulled out of a hat by a few desperate Washington officials."

How Ngo Came To Power . . .

The story is simple. In 1952 all Vietnamese Nationalists looked to America to drive the French out of Vietnam, as they had out of Syria. Every ambitious Vietnamese with mobility, i.e., the price of a ticket, wanted a passport to go to America and seek backing for a free Vietnam under himself. Diem was so insignificant that the French did not fear him. He had no party, was aloof, a devout aristocrat. When asked a question he usually answered to something else. They saw no reason to fear him, so he was permitted to go to America. In America he met a group of left-wing intellectuals who made him their protegee in "the struggle against colonialism." A professor who wanted to be an Orientalist took him up. A former Austrian Socialist leader, naturalized American, made Diem and Vietnamese independence his business. A small pool of intellectuals was formed to write articles glorifying Ngo dinh Diem, quoting each other as authorities. Justice William O. Douglas met the new "find" at a luncheon, at which Senator Mike Mansfield was present (see *Harpers Magazine*, January, 1956). The Senator had met Diem in 1953 and has been a consistent champion of his. Cardinal Spellman was reported to be behind him also.

Support In Vietnam . . .

At this point Vietnamese Nationalist leaders back in Saigon were ready to embrace him also. A stream of letters and clippings had come back to convince them that Diem had American support. Very well, if he could get

America to oust the French and, if accepting Diem, for a time at least, was the price they had to pay, they were willing. He had no party; they could always put in a strong Nationalist later.

A French journalist named Lucien Bodard started boosting him. Bodard wanted an American-supported premier to push the fight against Ho chi Minh, the Communist in the north. Though Diem's sole war effort during Japanese hostilities consisted of hiding Japanese from the French, Bodard never missed a chance to advance him.

Then came the crushing defeat of Dien Bien Phu in the spring of 1954. Prince Buu Loc was the last pro-French premier. Monsieur Georges Bidault suggested to the Emperor Bao Dai, then known as Chief of State, that he appoint Ngo dinh Diem, the man "the Americans wanted."

Appointed By The Emperor . . .

On July 7, 1954, Diem became premier of the southern half of his divided country. Roughly 11½ million citizens remained to him, against 13½ million under Ho chi Minh in the north. The Accord stipulated that the two Vietnams vote in July, 1956, to decide under which camp they would be reunited. Southern Nationalists were not discouraged by the disparity in numbers. They were free at last, and they figured by mid-1956 enough northerners would be disillusioned by Communism to swing the vote their way.

On bended knees Diem swore allegiance to the Emperor. He promised the Empress to save the dynasty for her son, and boarded a plane for Saigon. Pope Pham cong Tac, leader of the Cao Dai sect, hurriedly gathered followers for a "spontaneous" demonstra-

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tion, to give the impression that the new President of the Council was popular.

So it was that a northerner, neither native to the south nor with a following there, came to govern South Vietnam on nothing stronger than the fact that a few American Marxist-socialists and some middle-of-the-road anti-colonialists and conservative Catholics were behind him. Vietnamese believed that America's being "in the game" was insurance enough against Diem's abuse of power or France's return.

Ngo Takes Over . . .

Their disillusionment was sudden. The leaders, for whom independence was their due, were pushed aside. No dissenting voice was tolerated, which left only sycophants and the President's brothers and in-laws eligible for office. The ascetic, intolerant Diem felt himself more and more isolated. He became suspicious of everyone. He drew closer to his brother Nhu, whose hands held all the political threads of the country. Madame Nhu became the President's hostess. Behind Madame Nhu in a web of palace intrigue was the figure of her mother, Madame Tran van Chuong, formerly a Councilor of the French Union. Madame Chuong and her husband, one of Bao Dai's ministers, had amassed a fortune. With one daughter married to Diem's most powerful brother, the other daughter's husband was soon made Minister of the Interior, and Madame Chuong sent her husband to Washington as Ambassador. Vietnamese with even less voice in their government under Diem than they had under the French referred to their President as "the parachuted—dropped on them from above, by a foreign

power—without roots in their soil."

Native leaders were suppressed or driven abroad. American agents, advisers and political officers flocked into the country, but they were partisans of Diem the man, rather than of South Vietnam the country. The rule was that anyone anti-Diem was anti-American. If an anti-Communist Nationalist tried to alert the Americans, he was turned over to Diem's police. Wearing blinkers against the smouldering unrest, the insulated Americans replied to all criticism, "But there is no one but Diem."

And Consolidates His Rule . . .

Two political-religious sects, the Hoa Hao and the Cao Dai, had private armies and policed their own areas against Communist infiltration. Another private army, the Binh Xuyen, under General Le van Vien, controlled Cholon, the Chinese city where gambling flourished, just outside Saigon. Because of Le van Vien's reputation as vice-king, the Binh Xuyen were attacked first. Then Diem moved on to break the Hoa Hao and the Cao Dai. To gain personal power Diem weakened and alienated these groups that could have presented a united front with him against Communism. He plunged the country into civil war, killing or exiling native leaders. Lopping off the tops of these three groups drove them into an underground alliance where they are still operating and, if anything, gaining strength. Time can prove that these moves were unwise.

Hate spread. To divert it, Diem started a campaign against the French, playing on old grudges. Short-sighted American officers joined in, running a popularity contest against the French.

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It was unwise. The gains were short-term, on a purely local field. The alliance against the common enemy to the north was forgotten. One hundred thousand French troops were pulled home. Some twenty-five thousand civilians followed. Restaurants closed, twenty-five thousand Vietnamese were thrown out of work. Over night Saigon awoke to the fact that withdrawal of the French army, navy, and airforce was not to be followed by the arrival of an equal number of protecting Americans. The hundred and twenty-five thousand French that arrived in France, literally ordered out of Vietnam by Secretary Dulles in April of 1955, were bitterly anti-American, and a potential source of poison in NATO. Alarmed Vietnamese saw themselves suddenly defenseless. To flee the country they needed a passport with an exit visa. Ten thousand dollars or its equivalent in jewels became Madame Nhu's price for escape, according to them.

The Same Old Formula . . .

With the French gone, Diem lost his whipping boy. He had told the Emperor to stay out of the country and to let him handle things. He launched a campaign against the absent Emperor, raised a few hitherto unknown hangers-on to temporary importance on a Revolutionary Committee, under Nguyen bao Toan, Ho han Son, and Nhi Lang.

A constitution was promised, and a vice-president. Always just ahead was the promise of liberalization and a voice in government. Bodard, the journalist who worked two years to push Diem's appointment, had long since been expelled from the country. Very few of Diem's old friends remained. In the voting to decide whether Bao Dai or

Diem should run the country, Diem offered no alternative to himself, as though the presidency were his to dispose of. Police made house to house visits "to instruct the voters." Ballots were green (unlucky color) on one end for Bao Dai, red (lucky color) on the other for Diem. No campaigning for Bao Dai was permitted. The ballot was torn in two, one end placed in an envelope (transparent), and a policeman escorted the voter to the polls.

Back in America a high-pressure public relations firm, paid by the American taxpayer through aid money, literally flooded the country with glowing but completely false reports of Diem's popularity and South Vietnam's new strides towards democracy. The taxpayer was conditioned for longer and heavier appropriations.

And The Same Results . . .

Shortly after the Emperor was ousted the Revolutionary Committee disappeared. Nguyen bao Toan popped up in America, an exile. The skeleton of Ho han Son was found near Saigon in February of 1957. Nhi Lang is now in exile in Cambodia, harassed as an "anti-American."

March 4, 1956, was set as the date to elect a Constituent Assembly to draw up the Constitution. Only "approved candidates" were permitted to run. One Dai Viet, a member of the anti-Communist party that had carried the fight for independence for years, managed to slip through the screening and was elected, but disappeared immediately afterwards. A special refugee village constituency was created for Madame Nhu; even so, she polled less than 5,000 votes out of a possible 25,000. Her refugee village is maintained, idle, on

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American aid dole. Its inhabitants are available and used for the "spontaneous" demonstrations mounted for Diem's comings and goings and the visits of American VIPs.

When the hand-picked assembly had written the Constitution as dictated, it was turned into a legislative assembly, and a long list of decrees that have aided only the Communists and alienated Southeast Asia followed. The leader of the Dai Viet Nationalists reached Washington through the aid of the American Ambassador to tell his story, but Senator Mansfield refused to see him. The black-out on all reports adverse to Diem was complete, but throughout Southeast Asia anti-American sentiment was on the rise.

One by one Diem's enemies and opposition leaders were lured for talks, under truce, and nabbed. In mid-1956 such a trap was set up for Bacut, the Hoa Hao leader, by Vietnam's then Ambassador to Tokyo, Nguyen ngoc Tho (arrested as a Communist in 1945 and father of a noted communist student agitator in Paris). Bacut was seized. Only one witness dared appear at his trial. He was summarily guillotined. The Hoa Hao swore to revenge their chief and are in open revolt today. As a reward for trapping Bacut, Nguyen ngoc Tho was made Vice President.

Communists In The Saddle . . .

As this is written, five other Southern Vietnamese are under sentence of death in Saigon. They came in voluntarily in response to pamphlets promising safe conduct. But on arrival they were told that there was a time limit to the offer and that it had already expired! It is a common observation that under the French a few Vietnamese were in

prison, now the number runs into thousands. Communists are running "universities" in the prisons.

In late 1956 Diem desperately staved off all native hate a while longer by passing a decree forcing nationality on all foreigners born in the country. It was retroactive, barred all who refused nationalization from eleven trades, and was directed against the million Chinese who control South Vietnam's economy. But also affected were the Laotians and Cambodians. The word went out to sabotage Diem's economy. Reaction spread to the three million Chinese in Thailand, the Chinese communities of Singapore and Hong Kong and the Philippines. In Laos and Cambodia neutralism took a jump as enough arms passed from Red China to mount an entire new division in the south. Amidst rumors of vast transfers of capital abroad by Diem's family, banknote scandals and rice deals with the Reds, the shortage of banknotes hit Saigon. Imports piled up in the warehouses and unemployment increased. Firms went bankrupt. Against this background Asia holds America responsible for "her man."

While America Feeds The Horse . . .

By this time Diem dared not back-track, could only go ahead. As the ship started to founder Vietnamese asked themselves if former important Reds who had flattered their way into key posts of government were not responsible for these decrees, by which only South Vietnam's enemies seemed to profit. It was pointed out that men trying to quit the Red camp to rally to the south were invariably arrested by their own former Communist leaders, for acts committed un-

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der them in the north, as soon as they reached Saigon. Is it true then that rallying to a new standard is impossible—and only Red infiltration possible?

On February 20, 1957, an armored car regiment seven miles from Saigon prepared to move on the capital. They were betrayed and their leaders executed. "It is no use," said the Vietnamese, "Diem has so much American money to bribe informers. The country will fall to the Reds before we can ever move in."

On February 22 a schoolboy shot at the President and missed. Papers have not mentioned him since, though it is known that it was not a Communist plot, and the boy has refused ten million piastres, if he will tell who backed him.

Shortly after the "assassination" Diem selected a non-dangerous opponent and labeled him "the legal opposition," as a sop to American opinion, but two priests were sent to prison for the mildest criticism of Diem and the last Catholic journal in the country was suppressed. With this, Diem took off for America in a desperate search for money. The Madison Avenue "coca-

cola campaign," as Vietnamese call his press-agenting in America, was tremendous, but the increased aid he sought in shock-treatment amounts was not forthcoming.

Since then he has made junkets to Korea, Thailand, and Australia. His objective: the place of leader left vacant by Magsaysay's death as "leader of Southeast Asia." Hatred and contempt for Diem in neighboring countries, and hatred of America for having imposed and supported him, is strong enough to threaten any alliance we may try to set up under his attempted leadership.

A paid propaganda campaign could convince American public opinion that Diem is indispensable in far away Southeast Asia—and may keep him in power. But your Vietnamese, there on the ground, knows truth from fiction. He sums it up, "Unless we can get Diem out and install a broad government with popular support, the Reds will come in. Ung ngoc Ky, who is Ho chi Minh's underground leader in Saigon, boasts that he can take over when he chooses. Unless America heeds us he will do it."

You May Have Missed

The Magazine, U.S.A., quotes the New York Herald Tribune of November 21, as quoting Cyrus Eaton, the Cleveland industrialist, as follows: "The only people in the United States who believe that communism is a menace to the United States are the boys on the pay roll of the F. B. I."

Since General Douglas MacArthur, Ex-President Herbert Hoover, hundreds of other outstanding Americans we could name, and millions of ordinary citizens such as this editor, have made it crystal clear that we do believe communism to be a most serious menace to the United States, this pompous pronouncement of "the Cleveland industrialist" seems to make monkeys out of all of us, and to reserve the rank of "people" for himself, Earl Browder, the staff of the Daily Worker, and other fountains of patriotic wisdom.

We should like to think that somewhere, in all of the chain of quotation listed above, a link had got twisted, resulting in a misquotation. But knowing the almost incredible capacity of Cyrus Eaton for sounding silly, we fear this is too much to hope.

A Review of the News

By

HUBERT KREGLOH

In December, 1957 . . .

→ Detroit announced on December 3 that auto production in November reached the highest monthly level since January, with the output of 578,500 cars. Up to that date 5½ million vehicles had been produced in 1957—seven and three tenths percent more than the 1956 level.

→ During a White House conference early in the month, Pres. Eisenhower and aides urged Congressional leaders to meet Moscow's outer-space challenge with heavier spending for defense and foreign aid. The President also asked for authority to negotiate science-pooling agreements with "allies."

→ The controversial case of William Girard, American serviceman convicted by a Tokyo court for the shooting of a Japanese woman collecting metal scrap at a U.S. firing range, was closed with the announcement that Japanese prosecutors would not appeal the three-year suspended prison sentence, and with the discharge of Girard from the Army upon his return to the United States with his Japanese wife.

→ Frank E. Gannett, "self-made" founder of a 22-newspaper empire, mostly in New York State, plus several radio and TV stations, died at 81 at his home in Rochester, N.Y., following an illness which resulted from a spinal injury suffered by a fall in the Spring of 1955. Gannett was a GOP presidential candi-

date in 1940, but lost the nomination to Wendell Willkie.

→ On December 5 and 6, the United States tried unsuccessfully to launch a six-inch radio-transmitter-equipped space satellite with a Navy-developed VANGUARD rocket from Cape Canaveral, Florida. On the first day, the launching was postponed due to "technical difficulties." On December 6, the rocket exploded on the ground two seconds after firing. While there were no injuries, further launching plans were postponed indefinitely. There was wide-spread criticism of the high-pressure advance publicity, and some observers suspected sabotage.

→ On December 5, the Soviets claimed the launching of the first atomic surface ship—the 16,000-ton icebreaker "Lenin," capable of cutting through six feet of ice. Specifications given: 455 ft. length, 30-ft. draft, 44,000 HP.

→ In the worsening dispute over Netherlands-owned Western New Guinea, the Indonesian Government, under Communist pressure, seized the biggest of the one-billion-dollar Dutch enterprises; ordered approximately fifty thousand Dutch nationals (including Eurasians who had always lived in the islands) to leave; but forbade "essential" Dutch personnel to leave or quit work, threatening imprisonment; and hinted that American property also might be "nationalized."

A Review of the News

→ Povl Bang-Jensen, Danish member of the UN Secretariat and member of the UN Special Committee on Hungary, was fired by Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld for refusing to release the names of Hungarian refugees who testified before the committee after being promised anonymity. Bang-Jensen was the sole custodian of the names.

→ Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia brusquely cancelled U.S. military aid to his country because of what he called "irritants." State Department officials voiced hope that he might be persuaded to reconsider and that he would at least consent to accept further economic aid.

→ A three-day NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) "summit" meeting was held in Paris on December 16 with Pres. Eisenhower attending. Agreement was reached "in principle" by the fifteen member states to station U.S. guided missiles in Europe "eventually," to pool scientific knowledge; and to approach Russia for new disarmament talks. Nothing really concrete seemed to be accomplished. Twice-defeated presidential Democratic candidate Adlai Stevenson rejected an Administration bid to participate as "consultant," probably because he did not wish to identify himself with the anticipated fiasco and did not want to weaken his party's ability to snipe at the GOP in connection with the "Sputnik"-sparked crisis.

→ The Communist governments of Poland and Yugoslavia offered Indonesia shipping to offset shortages created by the decision of Dutch ships to avoid Indonesian waters for fear of seizure.

→ At the AFL-CIO convention in Atlantic City, Vice President of the organization and United Auto Workers chief Walter Reuther called for higher wages and a shorter work week in 1958 (in other words, more money for less productivity), based on the familiar argument that this will "boost purchasing power" and will thus "benefit the entire economy."

→ In a talk before the Kiwanis Club of Utica, N.Y., Rep. Keating (R-N.Y.) accused the U.S. Supreme Court of having gone too far in protecting the rights of individuals, pointing especially to the ruling giving the attorneys of accused Communists access to confidential F.B.I. files.

→ Administration officials disclosed on Dec. 27 that a serious rift on handling Soviet Russia had developed between Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Eisenhower's "special disarmament advisor", Harold E. Stassen. The latter was reported to urge large new concessions to Moscow, while Mr. Dulles remains skeptical of Soviet "good faith." Stassen declared the matter was so important he would not resign from the Cabinet to run for Governor in Pennsylvania, but Washington insiders commented that the Pennsylvania GOP had turned him down.

→ In the face of cries by professional big spenders in Washington that lack of money stymied U.S. missiles development, the Defense Department disclosed to Congressional investigators that actually over seventeen billion dollars have been spent on missiles development to date, all but half a billion since the end of World War II.

WHY PEOPLE BECOME COMMUNISTS

THE AVERAGE AMERICAN, on being shown the present reach and constant progress of the Communist conspiracy in this country, is exactly like the farmer being shown the giraffe. He simply insists that there isn't any such animal.

A main reason for this willful blindness is an inability of the typical American to understand how or why other Americans, very much like himself, could possibly have become Communists. This failure to comprehend or to believe is in turn due to a completely erroneous premise. He thinks that those few misguided souls, who do actually join the strange Communist sect, are moved by some unique and mysterious reason which is beyond the discernment of "normal" people.

There is, of course, no such clear-cut formula for converting any human raw material into the Communist product. The reasons why people become Communists are numerous, diverse, overlapping — and quite orthodox expressions of human psychology. Some of these reasons have been conscientiously reported, by such reconverts to Americanism as Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, out of deep personal experience. Arthur Koestler, George Orwell, and many other writers have brought detailed knowledge and penetrating insight into discussions of what makes a Communist and what makes him tick. We have neither the wish nor the ability to add anything new to the convincing analyses that are already available from many sources. But we shall try to summarize, in a few pages and plain language, the major inducements whereby Communism recruits and maintains its followers.

The Star Gazers . . .

1. We should begin our list with the appeal of Communism to the idealism of its prospective converts. For historically—though not currently—this has been the movement's greatest drawing card.

The young man or woman dreams of making this a better world. He sees poverty, suffering, injustice, and class distinctions around him. He is told that socialism will abolish these things. He does not know that the very poverty, suffering, injustice, and class distinctions at which he is looking have been reduced, by the americanist form of society, to their lowest levels ever reached, at any place on this planet or at any time in history. He does not know that their reduction to a further minimum is directly dependent on, and proportional to, the freedom of individuals from government paternalism. Many socialists never learn this, despite the clear and irrefutable evidence of all historical experience. Those who do, and remain socialists, carefully keep this knowledge from their young nibblers at the communist bait.

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Even less does the idealistic young man know that socialism itself, far from eliminating poverty, suffering, injustice, and class distinctions, will inevitably increase them all. He is given no warning that socialist plans automatically require an increasing regimentation of individual lives, which does not and cannot stop short of actual slavery of the citizen to the state. These facts, too, the socialists are careful to hide from him. Indeed, all but the most hardened among them are equally careful to keep these facts well hidden beyond the range of their own conscious attention.

Who See Only The Stars . . .

So this idealistic young man becomes convinced that socialism offers not only a way, but the only way, to bring about the brave new world of which he has a vision. He accepts the term communism as meaning socialism in its ultimate and most beneficial form. He is led to believe that Communists are the most sincere and praiseworthy of all those who profess to be socialists. For only the Communists are willing to dedicate their lives to the active fight to establish a world-wide collectivist Utopia. He is daily taught that the noblest plans are thwarted and delayed only by the willful selfishness of those who exploit their fellow men in a capitalistic system; of those who gain personal advantages from the poverty, suffering, injustice, and class distinctions caused by their exploitations. So he comes at last to accept the Communist doctrine, that any means are justified in order to impose a communist organization of society on the whole world for its own good.

By this time the idealistic young man, his soul suffused with a thrilling glow of self-abnegation and self-submersion into a great cause, has become merely a cog in the Communist machine. More and more do action, discipline, and the momentum of the machine displace deliberation in his consciousness. He learns under relentless pressures to be ever more resolute and "realistic", in accepting and carrying out duties assigned to him in furtherance of Communist aims. Finally even treason and murder become methods to condone, or virtuous actions to be performed, when they serve the needs of a crusading army which is marching on to total and glorious victory. To him Communism has now become a fervent and overpowering religion, requiring unquestioning faith on the part of its devotees, and ruling out all other loyalties.

The Lonely Hearts . . .

2. Another attraction of Communism depends on the basic loneliness of so many individuals. The Communist program not only gives meaning and purpose, however criminal, to lives which otherwise would be empty of both. It gives a sense of belonging, of sharing the comradeship and objectives and total strength of a vast army of fellow soldiers, to individuals who otherwise would feel lost and alone and unwanted.

There is a need in each human spirit to be a part of something greater

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than one's self, to lessen the futility of an egocentric existence by doing something that is important to a group. The feeling is present in all of us, and very strong in many. Throughout America today this need accounts for billions of hours of work on the part of millions of individuals in tens of thousands of voluntary associations, clubs, societies, and organizations of every conceivable variety. But the Communists make far more capital for themselves out of this instinctive behavior than any other group. They do so by their unceasing reiteration of the glories of their cause, by the extensiveness of their disciplined direction of an individual's efforts, and by the consciousness which they instill into each convert of the vastness and power of the organization to which he now belongs. Membership in the Communist Party, or adherence to its organizational hive, is more demanding, more exclusive of other interests, and of far more significance in its impact on the individual's own life, than any other loyalty that individual may assume anywhere in the world today—with the single exception of devotion to fundamentalist Christianity. For this very reason a consuming loyalty to the Communist movement is the most satisfying burial of self in something larger than—again excepting fundamentalist Christianity—our contemporary world can offer. It is tragic but true that many a miserable free man is changed by Communism into a happy slave.

Big Snobs With Little Equipment . . .

3. A very important appeal of Communism, not nearly so deserving of sympathy as those discussed above, is to the intellectual snobbishness of the sophomoric mind. There is nobody as fond of the adulation of the "intellectuals" as the pseudo-intellectual who has acquired the jargon, without the knowledge, of ideological scholarship. Being treated by these "intellectuals" as one of them, and hence as superior to the bourgeois herd of Philistines, is the greatest thrill an addlepated "liberal" can enjoy. And the real Communist scholars, unlike those in any other field, are willing to go along with and encourage the pretensions of a superficial phoney, if their doing so serves any Communist purpose.

Frequently it does. For such an individual, through inherited wealth, or high political position within the family, or the possession of a famous name, or through some other fortuitous means, may be able to supply prestige or money or influence to Communist friends and to Communist enterprises. In that case even the most deeply learned of the Communists are entirely willing to put their tongues in their cheeks, cross their fingers, and lead their patron to believe that he is a reincarnated combination of Plato, Hypatia, and John Stuart Mill.

Many of these victims of flattery, especially in the upper social or political levels, do not join the Communist Party or actually become Communists in any technical sense. For Communism is a serious business. There is nothing the Communists can afford less, or dislike more, than to be made to look ridiculous. And half-baked exhibitionists as prominent

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—or as conspicuous—as Eleanor Roosevelt, Henry Wallace, and William O. Douglas, would not be wanted as Party members. But many a gain for the Communist side, in the Cold War game, has been made by such players, who either didn't know or didn't care that they were carrying the ball for the Kremlin's team. They were too constantly puffed up and exhilarated by all the applause and mental back-slapping from real members of that team.

And Just Little Snobs . . .

At the lower levels, however, men who bask in the fellowship and flattery of people whom they inwardly regard as their intellectual superiors—and also as their superiors in daring, initiative, and leadership—are to be found in almost every Communist cell. The likelihood that they will make laughing stocks out of themselves, in any way that would reflect ridicule on Communist activities, is minimized. It is taken care of by the same discipline and detailed supervision that turns these would-be eggheads into useful work horses for the Communist Party. A great many of the half-educated pedants of the academic cloisters, in particular, belong in this classification. They join, or affiliate themselves with, the Communists, because their acceptance into such “progressive” circles gives reassuring external support to their false show of scholarly standing—which otherwise is not convincing even to themselves.

The Green Sickness . . .

4. Since the academic world supplies so much more than its proportionate share of American Communists, the above discussion leads easily into the next compartment of motivation. The label over that compartment is “Envy.” College faculties are not the only source of men who are made Communists by envy, of course. Also, many other motives besides envy, or on top of envy, play their part in making Communists out of Phi Beta Kappas. But “operation envy” is simpler to explain and easier to understand in connection with collegiate raw material than any other. We'll develop our argument through an illustration.

John Jones and Bob Brown were classmates in the liberal arts college of Ivy University. When they graduated, John stood third from the top of his class, Bob stood third from the bottom. Today, twenty years later, Dr. John Jones is making seven thousand dollars per year as an associate professor of history at Siwash College. Mr. Robert Brown is making forty thousand dollars per year as vice-president in charge of sales of the Siwash Soapsuds Company. To the professor this is conclusive evidence of the injustice of a capitalistic society.

For Dr. Jones not only has much the more brilliant mind of the two. He is well aware of that fact. Also, he has applied that mind diligently in his profession. Whatever there is to know about history, he knows it; and what he doesn't know isn't knowledge. He has an adequate familiarity

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with the fundamentals of literacy in many other fields. He is conscious and proud of having acquired that honest scholarship through hard work, done by a good brain. Mr. Brown, on the other hand, hasn't read a book since *Forever Amber* was all the rage. His intellect is only fair, and the idea of using it for anything more recondite than how to deal in commodity futures would strike him as absurd. Yet Brown is president of the Siwash Country Club, while Jones cannot afford to be a member.

And The Wrong Cure . . .

Over the years, while this difference in financial status was evolving, Dr. Jones succumbed to increasing bitterness towards a sociological system that made such a difference possible. He resented the importance and the unfairness (as he saw it) of the money rewards as bestowed by a capitalistic society. He longed for a world in which money had either been abolished altogether, or had been relegated to a role inferior and auxiliary to that of ration coupons, allocations, permits and favors issued by governments. And Dr. Jones was a man who followed his resentments and theories to what seemed to him to be their clearly indicated destination. He became a Communist.

Of course Professor Jones overlooked many things in his comparative appraisal of the efforts, the contribution to society, and the rewards of Salesman Brown and himself. Chief among them was the fact that he had chosen an academic career because of his distaste for, or unwillingness to engage in, the competitive struggle for financial success. Jones loved books and learning more than business and a larger pay check. It was his privilege to follow that preference. But to quarrel with the price put on his labors and accomplishments, by a free-market economy, was to set up his own egocentric sense of values as superior to that which automatically represented the total consensus of his fellow Americans. To follow his sense of values *for himself* was praiseworthy; to insist that everybody else accept it too was sophomoric arrogance.

In the second place, Dr. Jones is pleased with himself that he has never subjected *his* personality to the “vulgar” demands of salesmanship. He is proud of his solid standing in the cap-and-gown fraternity; of the respect for his learning on the part of his peers; and of many rewards which have come his way, of a kind that he doesn't think Brown would even understand. He considers the publication of his one book so far as a much more satisfying and important form of recognition of his worth than Brown's larger pay check; and he admits his presidency of the regional Association of Historians is a far more substantial honor than Brown's presidency of the country club. Yet he covets all that Brown has too.

Finally, Dr. Jones had never evaluated, nor even become aware of, the most significant terms in his equation. In order to reach a job at

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forty thousand dollars per year, in competition with other men after the same goal, Bob Brown had given of himself, in efforts more determined and in ways more demanding than John Jones ever dreamed. Jones feels virtuous because *he preferred* to avoid the strains and exactions of a competitive business existence. He doesn't realize that maybe Brown would have *preferred* to avoid them, too. But Brown considered the forty thousand per year, and such incidental returns as being president of the country club, as worth the cost out of his life and peace of mind. He may have been wrong, but the choice was his—just as Jones' choice was his own. And Brown, in the course of meeting the competition which he thus chose to face, helped the productive American economy to make available to Jones, at prices which even Jones could afford, the clothes on his back, the refrigerator in his kitchen, the car he drives, and even the books which he reads.

But Dr. Jones doesn't understand the processes through which he obtained these comforts in exchange for what he offered, nor Brown's part in those processes which made him worth forty thousand dollars per year to his firm and to the productive economy. Jones wants to have his cake and eat it too. This is something which the Communists promise to all fools who will listen, and especially to fools with a doctor's degree. And they obtain converts on the strength of these promises, despite the oft proved fact that in a socialist society both Jones and Brown get less cake, either to have or to eat, than in any other.

Tugwell Turns A Phrase . . .

We are not primarily concerned here, however, with the fallacy of the reasoning, or the unfairness of the individual comparisons, which made Dr. Jones a Communist. We have wished merely to illustrate how envy serves as a Communist tool. Skillfully used by dedicated hands, it molds many a lukewarm prospect into an ardent member of the Party. And envy itself is only one model of the psychological tool called hatred, which is found in every Communist work box.

For hatred is a very powerful emotion among human beings. In the early days of the New Deal, Rexford Tugwell emphasized the importance of bitterness—toward capitalism and capitalists—in the campaign to bring about those social changes advocated by himself and his fellow "liberals". He urged the faithful to spur themselves on "by an energizing hatred".

The driving force in the whole life and philosophy of Karl Marx was hatred—of everybody who was not as foul as himself. (Which was quite a large order, as the reader may easily verify by studying the details of Marx's personal life.) Hatred was the one, and the decisive, contribution of Lenin to the mood of the Russian Revolution of 1917, whereby he converted it into the October Bolshevik Revolution and a Communist strike for power. We find countless exhibits of the same brand of sulphurous hatred coming to the surface in contemporary America, as in the

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desecrative utterances of Milton Mayer or the obscene blasphemies of Langston Hughes.

Both Seed And Harvest . . .

Hatred, of the laborer for his boss, of colored people for their white neighbors and vice-versa, of Protestants for Catholics—wherever there is a climate in which it can be cultivated, hatred is both a product of Communist effort and a necessity of Communist progress. Sowing the seeds of such hatred and nourishing the crop is the constant work of many thousands of busy Communist minds and hands, both trained to make the greatest possible use out of every tragic opportunity. One result of all this fomentation of hatred is the continuous recruitment of additional workers, attracted to the trouble-making by a sympathetic feeling for its ostensible aims. These recruits range from Negro tenant farmers to the presidents of great universities. And identically the same envy or hatred of their fellow men, whom they consider better treated than themselves by the American system, may be the most powerful impulse to the acceptance of Communism on the part of both.

Involuntary Captives . . .

5. But not all Communists become such by persuasion and indoctrination. Many are driven into the fold by blackmail, terrorism, and other forms of coercion. The ordinary reader will say to himself: "Oh, sure. Unfortunately some men are undoubtedly driven by such methods to carry out Communist orders, or even to work on their own initiative to advance Communist causes. They never turn into real Communists, however; and they are always ready to break away from their Communist associations at the first opportunity." This conclusion would be correct in some cases, but in a great many it would not.

Mr. X, when quite young, drank too much one night, got into a brawl in the local tavern, killed a man in the fight which developed, and served three years in the penitentiary for manslaughter. On leaving prison he went to another city, where nobody knew anything about him or his past, started over, and has led an exemplary personal life ever since. He went to a law school in the new city, passed the bar, began the practice of law, got married, had two children, and, at the age of thirty-one or two, was struggling along like most of us to "get ahead" in the world.

Primarily as a result of his undergraduate days in an Ivy League college, Mr. X was a "liberal" in local politics, but only to the extent that was currently fashionable. Suddenly, out of a blue sky, he was offered a job in our State Department in Washington. The offer seemed to be solely the result of his friendship for another and more prominent lawyer in the town. It was made to sound entirely plausible to Mr. X by the kind interest of this importantly-connected fellow liberal in Mr. X's career, and by complimentary comments concerning Mr. X's special fitness for the

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position. These comments also conveyed a reasonable expectation of rapid advancement in government work. Mr. X accepted the appointment, with a few secret regrets about his hidden past, but without any suspicion that the Communists already had him and that past under their untiring observation.

Become Enthusiastic Converts . . .

In Washington Mr. X did "get ahead" in the State Department. He discovered early that the more he leaned to the left, the more favorably he was regarded by those associates and superiors who were paying the most attention to him, and the more his responsibilities increased. Also, he was encouraged to "liberalize" his views still further by the strength and unanimity of the "liberalism" around him. Caught up in the flood of "enlightened democracy" and one-worldism at work, Mr. X found it a thrilling and happy experience to float along on so benign a wave.

Then a crisis arose. Mr. X found that he was expected to do something, or to take a position, which was so "liberal" that, even to his now slanted sensibilities, it bordered on treason. He rebelled, reluctantly but firmly. And that brought a gentle but equally firm awakening. Mr. X was led, politely and affectionately, to see that a "reactionary" could not be allowed to block the wheels of humanitarian progress, even if his past had to be revealed to get him out of the way of those wheels. He could take his choice. He could be smeared as a jailbird, and tossed out of his job as a "fascist traitor" to the cause of true democracy. Or he could continue to work and advance as a member of the noble brotherhood of courageous forward-looking, dedicated souls, who were striving to bring justice and peace and equality and democracy to the whole world. Disturbed, but wishing to be convinced, Mr. X went along with the noble brotherhood.

From that point on the screws gradually tightened on the sides of the trough in which Mr. X moved forward. But so long as he didn't try to jump out of that trough his progress became even faster and more assured. He soon realized the real terms of the two courses open to him. One was to fight an organization which, as he already saw, was too well entrenched and too insidiously powerful for him to make any impression against it. The other was to do the bidding of that organization; to let himself become ever more closely allied in aims and in spirit with its members and dupes; and thus to reap all the rewards of increasing power, prestige, and remuneration which that organization could throw his way. In due course Mr. X wound up as a full-fledged and consecrated Communist, doing his important part to advance the purposes of the international Communist conspiracy — and giving as much of his energy as directed to bringing other prospects along exactly the same path that he himself had followed.

And The Victims Are Varied . . .

It is not only in every branch of the American government that black-

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mail pressures of this kind have been used, and are being used effectively today, by the hard-core Communists. Skillfully adjusted versions of the same basic mechanism are at work in our educational world, scientific world, and every area of public influence and authority. Nor is it only the man with a jail term behind him who is the victim of such smooth coercion. The stick for resistance and the carrot for submission are employed very cleverly, complementing each other, on many a poor soul who has been trapped into wearing the Communist harness.

We took Mr. X for our illustration simply because this article is dealing with the question of why "normal" people become Communists. In actual fact the blackmail approach is most widely and profitably used by the Kremlin's agents on brilliant men who have the extreme misfortune to be homosexuals. Such men seem to gravitate almost automatically into government service. They have a built-in and fundamental predisposition to resent the accepted standards and beliefs of our society. They also have, always over their heads, a threat of personal disgrace far more disturbing than the record of a jail sentence. So these unfortunate individuals become easy putty for molding by Communist techniques into disciplined and devoted members of the Party. Also, because of the introvert brilliance of their minds, and their obsessive desire for success and public recognition to counterbalance a guilt-consciousness that is ever with them, they develop into some of the most high-placed and potent Communists in any government. For these reasons it is not too surprising or unusual to find one of these agents of the conspiracy smoothly and subtly promoting its aims, as a high functionary of our State Department or as the administrative head of some great international organization.

"Most Flagrant Of The Passions" . . .

6. This brings us logically to the next classification, which consists of those who are converted into Communists by the appeal of the carrot, without any brandishing of a stick being necessary. And the most effective carrot — especially for the ruthlessly ambitious spirits whom the Communists wish most to have on their side — is the promise of personal power.

In Russia, since Stalin consolidated his dictatorship and liquidated all of the old Bolsheviks along with whatever idealistic revolutionary fervor still remained; in China almost from the very beginning of the Communist drive; in most other countries since Stalin's control over international Communism became virtually complete; everywhere, for the past two decades, the sheer lust for power has been the primary motivation of those who achieved high standing in the Communist "aristocracy". What has been presented to the world as a revolutionary movement based on ideological considerations, and what is still so presented to the outside masses and to millions of its own proletariat today, long ago degenerated in fact into a plain conspiracy of gangsters.

So the cunning man without conscience, in any country, who sees in

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the whole vast Communist apparatus the opportunity and means of achieving power over others, may join the Party for that ultimate purpose. The more clearly he sees from the very beginning that the Party's ideological pretenses are merely a sham and a weapon, so far as those in the top ranks are concerned, the more rapidly he advances within the hierarchy. In time he benefits at the level of baron, earl, or prince, from all the labor of the serfs at the bottom of the Communist organizational pyramid. And whatever his position at any given moment, in this unconfessed but rigid order of ascending privilege and power, he never ceases scheming and striving to climb higher still.

Even As Gould And Capone . . .

In the United States of the nineteenth century such men would have set out to acquire this desired power through amassing great wealth by almost any means. Some of them still do. A generation ago men like Al Capone went into the rackets. Some of them still do. Twenty years ago men of the same type went into the lush fields of mushrooming labor unionism. Many still do. But increasingly over the past two decades men with this lust for power have gone into the vastly more expansive racket of imposing a secret Communist gangsterism on all the rest of America.

There are differences, of course. The earlier racketeers were willing to use *almost* any means to accomplish their ends. The Communists use *any* means, without qualification. The power of these earlier overlords was less tangible but more visible than that of their Communist counterparts. In America today, for obvious reasons, the most powerful and successful Communists are the secret ones, whom the public — and most of their Communist underlings — do not even suspect of having Communist sympathies. The fact that their power is exercised behind the scenes, and that their authority and standing are known only to an inner circle, apparently adds to the thrill for men with minds of a certain type.

But the differences fade away before the likenesses, in the paths and aims that have been pursued — with one exception. Because of the importance attached to the ideological argument, in the arsenal of Communist weapons, education and suavity are of far more value to the ambitious Communist than they ever were to the buccaneering financier, to the Tommy-gun gangster, or to the boss of a hoodlum battalion in some so-called labor union. So the Communist racket has attracted far better educated, more deceptive, and hence more dangerous men, to its ranks. Then, out of these lower ranks, the *most* cunning, *most* ruthless, and *most* dangerous have risen to be its leaders.

"The Way To Promotion And Pay" . . .

7. Finally we come to the pure opportunist. Here is the man who does not consciously chart the course of his own future. But he does want always to float with, instead of to struggle against, the current. And he is keen enough to sense the direction of the current, even in waters that seem placid

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to the less shrewd observer. It is a frightening fact that he and his kind now probably constitute the largest single source of converts to Communism — or at least to an actively sympathetic attitude towards Communists — as more and more "wise guys", even in America, become convinced that Communism really is "the wave of the future."

Whether these contemporary vicars of Bray are correct as to the ultimate total victory of the side they have chosen remains to be seen. But the evidence of their wisdom, as to the immediate practical and material results of their betrayal of both country and civilization, is visible on every hand. To pay off, this betrayal does not even have to be active or premeditated; it can be passive, or unintentional, or both. So strong and all-pervasive has now become the Communist influence and the secret Communist strength in this country, that you do not even have to be pro-Communist to reap the rewards of Communist favor. All you have to do, for the ubiquitous wheels of this conspiracy to start turning on your behalf, is to be visibly and vigorously anti-antiCommunist. You fight to put down the enemies of the Communists, and they will fight, in dozens of ways which you cannot see and may not suspect, to lift you up.

The adherents to the anti-antiCommunist line range all the way from active participants in the Communist conspiracy to good patriots who are honestly duped into belittling the menace of that conspiracy. But all benefit from following it.

For Example . . .

Isn't it arguable, for instance, that Nathan Pusey's bitter opposition to McCarthy was an important factor in having him chosen as president of Harvard University? Or that General Zwicker's promotion in rank was largely due to the same influences at work behind the scenes? These influences wanted not only to reward Zwicker for his testimony, protecting the protectors of Communists; they wanted the whole American public to see that such acts of anti-antiCommunism *would be* rewarded.

Does anybody believe that Dore Scharf's leanings to the left did not materially aid his meteoric career in Hollywood? Or that Drew Pearson's column would be syndicated in as many newspapers today, if he had not done such a grand job in the past of making trouble for those who made trouble for the Communists? Or that Walter Reuther would already have such tremendous and growing power in the American labor movement, if he had not once written a letter glorifying Soviet Russia and urging an equally glorious form of society for the United States?

And In Reverse . . .

The other side of the coin has the stamp of the same regime. Does anybody think that George Meany's standing and future in the AFL-CIO have not been seriously damaged by, or will not gradually be undermined because of, his outspoken opposition to international Communism? Or that John O'Donnell's syndicated column has not been turned down by news-

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papers — even good newspapers which would really like to carry it — because of his known intolerance for traitors in our midst? Or that Corinne Griffith's movie career was not hurt by her crusading speeches in opposition to Communist doctrines? Or that General Kirk Lawton's retirement was not forced as a result of his patriotic effort to help in the exposure of Communists under his command at Fort Monmouth? Or that so brilliant a teacher and sound a scholar as Felix Wittmer would not long ago have become the president of some university but for his anti-Communist lectures and books?

Enough specific illustrations of Communist favor and disfavor at work, in every field of American opportunity, could be given to fill many magazines the size of this one. But the benefits of fellow-traveling for profit — unintentional or otherwise — are only presented as background for the real point of this section. We are concerned here with those members of our society, with great cleverness and little conscience, who observe the unflinching effectiveness of Communist hands pulling countless strings. They carry their analysis of the significance of this observation to its logical conclusion. Guided by that conclusion, they go all of the way into membership in, or affiliation with, the Communist Party.

No List Can Be Complete . . .

This catalogue of reasons why people become Communists is by no means comprehensive. We have, for instance, barely touched the edge of the thinking expressed by "if you can't lick 'em, join 'em." The target most vulnerable to this shaft is the very man who sets out most energetically to fight the Communists. He gradually finds, on digging in, that they are so much more insidiously penetrating every cranny of our collective existence, and are already so much further advanced, than he had ever dreamed. He succumbs to a feeling of hopelessness over the blind complacency of his fellow citizens, and over their unwillingness even to take an honest look at the flood creeping up around them.

It is all right to say, and it is true, that a man who goes over to the enemy for such a reason didn't have the right stuff in him in the first place. But it is certainly no secret after these thousands of years that the "stuff" in individual human beings varies a great deal. It is also no secret that most of the readers of this page can name a man, once holding a high position in American political life and highly respected for his firm opposition to the schemes of the Left, who is now ardently wielding a whitewash brush for his pro-Communist and Communist pals. He was badly beaten by the Communists — working through the usual "liberal" front — so he went over to their side. And he is merely one example of these defectors because of despair.

Then there is the phony reason, given by the Communists themselves, and even more noisily shouted by their gullible "liberal" stooges, that men become Communists as a result of their own poverty and illiteracy. The

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truth is that the over-educated man in highly industrialized and prosperous America is a far easier prey to Communist arguments than the most miserably poor and illiterate peasant of non-industrialized Asia. The more poverty-stricken and more ignorant the population of any country or any area may be, the more completely do the Communists have to depend on force and terrorism — with less help from an ideological fifth column — to impose their police-state rule. Our humanitarian instincts make us wish very much to see the standards of living and of literacy raised in all the poorer nations of the world — but not as a means of saving those nations from Communism. It takes at least a little learning and a little leisure to make the Communist sophistry a dangerous thing.

And The Motives Combine . . .

There are other reasons, both real and imaginary, for the steady influx into the Communist camp. But we believe our list includes the most important. We have presented these appeals and motivations which make men Communists, however, as if each one acted alone; as if each appeal was successful only if the right type of "persuasion" was applied to exactly the matching susceptibility in a prospect for the Party. And of course this is not the case.

With the single exception of the man who is propelled by pure idealism alone, into a foul conspiracy which he mistakes for a self-sacrificing brotherhood, every convert to Communism has been pulled into the fold by a combination of reasons and arguments of varying proportions. Nor do the indoctrination, persuasion, and coercion ever stop, even after he has become a veteran Party member. Only the very clearminded, the very brave, and the very determined, ever break completely out of the web that binds them, once they have put themselves within its toils.

And so, year by year and month by month, the Communist flood rises. Especially do the secret members of the Communist conspiracy — which outweigh the open members in America, in both numbers and importance, by at least ten to one — increase their permeation of our whole social body. They go about their daily business or professional jobs, and their social and civic undertakings, exactly as do you and I, with nothing outward to distinguish them from loyal citizens. But the power and reach of their cumulative effort are visible on every hand, in the results they steadily achieve. You merely have to look each New Year's Day at how much closer the United States is to becoming a Communist nation than it was a year before, at how much closer the whole world is to becoming a Communist empire, to realize how unmistakably and steadily the Communists are winning their Cold War everywhere. They are winning it in, among other places, the press, the pulpit, the radio and television media, the labor unions, the schools, the courts, and the legislative halls of America. They expect to go on winning it while most of us refuse to believe that, in our country, anybody but a few crackpots ever become Communists. We had better start believing — fast — the overwhelming evidence of our sense and our senses.

TAX REFORM TO STRENGTHEN AMERICA

by

Wm. J. GREDE

On December 5, 1957 William J. Grede, Chairman of the NAM Taxation Committee, made a powerful speech on the need of tax reform, before the Congress Of American Industry. With his permission we have condensed that speech, in order to give our readers the core of its message.

IN THE ADULT lives of many here, there has been little but a series of emergencies, first domestic and then foreign and at times the two combined. The psychology of crisis has dominated our existence.

After the cessation of the Korean War we had four years in which to get our bearings on some difficult national issues which diminish the vitality of our free economic society. Then came Sputniks 1 and 2. This restored the psychology of crisis and converted pressing domestic problems to second-grade news. But at this time we need perspective — perspective not so much on the strength of the Russian thrust for supremacy in space as on ourselves and our way of life. How strong are the ramparts of our free society?

The space-missile problem is out in the open. The determination to catch up, if we are behind, and never lose this race, is not a partisan matter. We have no recourse but to allocate all needed manpower, facilities, and funds to this important task. But whenever the psychology of crisis invades our nation, every group which sups at the public trough tries to ride its coattails. More public spending becomes the universal cure-all for real or fancied problems. So these groups shout for virtually unlimited extravagance without regard to its effect on our dynamic freedom. Tax reduction next year is out of the question, they say — as if high taxes were all that was needed to save the free world!

It Doesn't Follow . . .

But let us not be befuddled, this time. We may have let the Soviets get a start on us, but this does not add up to a crisis in public spending. The funds budgeted for missiles in the current fiscal year are less than three percent of the total budget; and no authority has projected a figure for next year much higher than four percent of the budget. Economies in civilian activities, and in obsolete and wasteful military activities, could more than make up for any and all increases in the rate of spending on missiles.

Because we have so much greater total technological and productive capacity, we are shocked to find a Soviet breakthrough in any one field.

But are we to ricochet from one breakthrough to another, trying to tag their individual successes, while neglecting or misunderstanding the eroding forces which impair and undermine our strength?

I submit to you that the psychology of crisis which has swept over us since Sputniks 1 and 2 has missed the point. The threat to us is not that we will be annihilated from space, but that we will be annihilated by forfeiture of the ramparts of freedom. This is the problem we need to get out in the open. Here is where we need perspective.

It's Their Poison, But We Drink It . . .

We like to attribute to the Soviet Union the weaknesses of Karl Marx's model for social organization, but how blind can we be? Where in Russia is the dictatorship of the proletariat? Where in Russia is the principle of "to each according to his needs, from each according to his ability?" Where in Russia is the leveling-down process of confiscatory income taxation?

Is not the Marx model more evident in America than in Russia? We have no dictatorship of the proletariat, either. But we have a government that does things, in the name of the people, which are designed more to get votes than to serve the people. We have elevated the "rights of man" to a high order, and relegated his responsibilities to the limbo of forgotten causes. By government fiat and government-supported monopoly force, we have attempted to lift man up by his bootstraps, until he looks to government and his union instead of to his own efforts to provide his economic well-being. While we have still paid lip service to the dignity of human effort and achievement, we have erected and retained a tax system which — adopted from Marx's model — makes a mockery of individual man's effort to better himself. The harder a man works and the more he earns, the less his efforts mean to him.

Excessive rates of income tax, and especially the steeply rising progressive rates of the individual income tax, are the most socializing agent in our midst. We have more to fear from this foreign agent than we do from Sputniks. A totalitarian society can benefit from doses of incentives identified with the free way — as Russia has shown. But the free way has nothing to gain and everything to lose by doses of socialism in any form.

Some Specific Effects . . .

Take education — there the root of the problem of educational finance is the Federal income tax system. The excessive rates inhibit the willingness and cripple the ability of state and local governments to provide fully for educational needs. Also, during a period when it could have been expected that more and more citizens would donate more freely to private education, it is these same high rates that have prevented the accumulations out of which such giving would come.

Some educators have supported the tenets of steep progression. But more and more of them are recognizing that tax exploitation of the capable

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and the productive results in less for everyone, including Education. We hope educators will join in the counter-attack against this greatest socializing agent of all. In time, then, America will reap a rich reward in a better educational system, and in unbeatable strength throughout the whole range of science and technology.

As to economic growth, we like to think of the post World War II era as one long continuous boom. But whom are we kidding? The Russians? Actually, after fifteen years of depression and war in which net new capital formation was negligible, we have succeeded in growing at an annual rate only roughly that of the sixty years preceding the depression. We haven't even made up for lost time, much less moved on to the heights of which an advanced economy of free men is capable. Now the fact that the forces of growth are slowing down does not even rate mention in the news as a factor in the race with Russia for world leadership and survival.

Here is what the Monthly Letter of the First National City Bank has to say in its November issue: "Could anyone seriously expect the economy to keep growing in this kind of a strait jacket? Uncorrected, the present steep progression of rates will gradually suffocate the economy as a whole, just as it is already suffocating opportunities and incentives for the gifted individual."

What To Do About It . . .

But this is not a time for futility and despair in regard to the socialization of our land through Marxist taxation. Now of all times is when we should, we must, face up to the fact of this cancerous growth and make a mighty effort to get it out of our system.

All tax legislation is initiated in the House Ways and Means Committee, which is now composed of fifteen Democrats and ten Republicans. Two members of this Committee, Antoni N. Sadlak, Republican of Connecticut, and A. H. Herlong, Jr., Democrat of Florida, have introduced an identical bill — the first thorough-going legislative program for reform of the income tax rate structure since the rates started their upward movement twenty-five years ago. Such reform is possible only on a bipartisan basis; and it was on this basis that Rep. Herlong introduced his bill, following the earlier one introduced by Rep. Sadlak.

These great statesmen not only took a step which none before them had taken. They documented the case for their bills in two remarkable explanatory statements, so strong and convincing that their case has not been and cannot be rebutted. The pending legislation has been commented on, favorably and hopefully, in the press throughout this land. Hundreds of organizations have already endorsed the bill, and explanatory literature has been widely distributed. Every citizen should now be familiar with this legislative program — and if you are not I urge that you become so.

As we look at economic indices, pointing to an adjustment — mild or severe, as you choose — I can think of no action that would take the brakes

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off the productive forces in America more surely than tax reform along those lines. It would also, in fact, lead to more government revenue rather than less, in the years ahead. And the stage is set, if we do not let the spenders deter us.

The Honorable Jere Cooper, Democrat of Tennessee, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, has announced thirty-day public hearings on this bill, to begin on January 7. These are not run-of-the-mill hearings. This is the first opportunity offered to taxpayers and their organized groups, in ten years, to come in and talk about the impact of excessive discriminatory income tax rates on the vitality and health of our free economic system. It is an opportunity to support the program for rate reform introduced by Representatives Sadlak and Herlong. And we must take full advantage of this opportunity which Chairman Cooper has offered to us.

In The Long Run . . .

I am not a pessimist about the supremacy and survival of the free way. Russia has its Achilles heel, and America has its secret weapon, and they are one and the same thing — the priceless factor of free competition, which we possess and they do not.

In Russia, no lash of the whip, and no aping of the free way in regard to incentives, can over the long range overcome the stultifying hand of centralization — which means the absence and unavailability of the catalyst of competition. No centralized direction of industry can successfully contest the strength of private competitive enterprise, if such enterprise is really free — and not burdened with socialist rot. But the use of the taxing power as a social instrument is most destructive of man's willingness and capacity for competition. It is the very root of socialism.

The danger confronting the nation is not Soviet missiles nor Sputniks — it is that we will allow spectacular Russian shows to postpone urgently needed tax reform. Moderation of the excessive and discriminatory income tax rates is essential to the maintenance, to the improvement and expansion, of American industry. It is thus vital to our ability to defend ourselves. Russia does not so much fear our ability to produce Sputniks and missiles, but rather the dynamic power of a free industrial society. If the launching of Sputnik causes us to destroy our free economy, the Russians will have accomplished their mission.

The contest with the Russians will be a long one. Over that long run, whether we are a few months ahead or behind them in space and missile technology will be of little significance. Whether we restore the incentives and free play of economic forces, and break the destructive chains of socialist taxation, will have much greater bearing on the ultimate outcome. Free men will survive if they accept all the responsibilities and obligations of freedom, as well as its rewards.

BULLETS

The unsigned articles appearing in this magazine sometimes represent the views of the editor—and frequently of no one else.

*Paraphrased From
Frank E. Masland, Jr.*

America is the only place in the world where a man can drive up with his own car to collect his unemployment insurance.

General Electric News

Wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction.

Matthew, VII, 13

Signs on a church billboard in Omaha, Nebraska:

What is Hell?

Come in and hear our organist.

Western Tobacco Journal

Leisure originally meant an opportunity to do something. It has come to mean an opportunity to do nothing.

Dr. Martin H. Fischer

For the sin ye do by two and two ye must pay for one by one.

Kipling

Peace will come to this earth when her peoples have as much as possible to do with each other; their governments the least possible.

Richard Cobden

Organized labor still has special privileges and legal immunities that even kings and governments lost years ago.

Roscoe Pound

Modern Republicanism—an elephant trying to make a jackass out of itself.

Probably A Bull Moose

When two men have charge of a horse, it is lean; when two men have charge of a boat, it leaks.

Chinese Proverb

The older a man gets, the better he could swim as a boy.

Charles Curran

You may be on the right track, but you'll get run over if you just stand there.

Quoted by Russell and Ann Ackley

All year long I scrimp and save and pinch pennies, and then you blow the whole thing in on your income tax.

Housewife, Reported In THIS WEEK

It's what you learn after you know it all that counts.

We Haven't Learned Yet

You can't fool all of the people all of the time, but it isn't necessary. A majority will do.

Nor This One

It is not by the gray of the hair that one knows the age of the heart.

Bulwer

I live for those who love me, for those who know me true;

For the heaven that smiles above me, and awaits my spirit too;

For the cause that lacks assistance, for the wrong that needs resistance,

For the future in the distance, and the good that I can do.

G. Linnaeus Banks

COLD FACTS ABOUT DISCRIMINATION

by

HUBERT KREGELOH

Gilding lilies is a silly occupation. But we cannot resist the temptation, in presenting so excellent an essay, to add one or two preliminary facts and comments of our own which COULD make its argument even stronger.

In 1821 the American Colonization Society selected a point on the African Coast, south of Sierra Leone, as an appropriate site for its first settlement of freed American Negro slaves. Between 1822 and 1828, along the coast near this point, a colony of these freed men was founded. It was named LIBERIA, from the Latin word LIBER, meaning FREE. Its capital was named Monrovia, for the then President of the United States, James Monroe. In 1847 these emigrants from America established their colony as an independent republic. Somewhat precariously since that time, and with much help from England, Germany, France, and the United States during the first decades of the present century, that independent republic has been preserved.

Because of the backward condition of Liberia's indigenous tribes—many of which until recently still practiced cannibalism—the original settlers who, even as slaves, had had prolonged contact with Western civilization, had many advantages over the natives. They and their descendants have been able to be of great service during the past 150 years, in bringing to their new country an increasing amount of industry, education, and other benefits of a more civilized political economy. And so, quite naturally, it is the descendants of those original American slaves who constitute, almost entirely, the business, professional, and cultural ruling classes of Liberia today.

Under these conditions, therefore, and in light of the historical background, Liberia is about the last place on earth where an idealist concerning human nature would expect to find the practice of RACIAL discrimination. But the idealist would be greatly surprised. Meditations stirred by the actual situation prompted one of our associate editors to write the following article.

DISCRIMINATION is one of those many words used daily and abused badly which became caught in the semantic embroglio of the past few decades. The perversion and contortion of our vocabulary is partly the result of ignorance and laziness. Our schools obviously no longer make Americans proficient in the use and comprehension of their own language, yet people try to include in their every-day conversation erudite-sounding words and phrases whose correct meaning they do not understand. Newspapers and magazines with re-

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porters of questionable competence have also been major offenders, because people with little education tended to assume that the printed word was linguistically authoritative.

However, much of the perversion and contortion of the vocabulary has been deliberate. It has been practiced by political demagogues and by leftist intellectuals to break down traditions, patriotism and truth; to serve the objectives of creeping, alien social revolution; to deceive the people into believing that what these peddlers of poison brought was actually good and desirable. The appalling fact that even ministers of the Gospel lent their efforts to promoting Socialism and outright Communism under the fraudulent cloak of religion rendered these diabolical manipulations more effective. Thus, when people today talk about "democracy," "liberalism," "conservatism," even "labor" and "business," it is really necessary to ask for definitions to ascertain what they mean.

A Word Prostituted . . .

Many examples could be cited involving the terms just listed to explain the vast differences in definition and interpretation. Let us merely think of what the average American has in mind when he mentions "democracy," and what the Soviets and the Red Chinese mean when they apply the same word! However, this article intends to confine itself to the subject of discrimination. As a result of the factors listed before, "discrimination" has become a dirty word in our vocabulary, but there was a time when people understood that it could have another meaning. Among the meanings listed in Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, we find: "... a

mark of distinction; the quality of being discriminating; faculty of nicely distinguishing . . ." And the synonyms listed are: "discernment, penetration, distinction, acumen."

Thus, not long ago, people were flattered to be called "discriminating." They felt they were being recognized as individuals of culture and refinement who did not run with the herd, but were careful and particular in their choice of clothes, books, art, food, wines and associates. The advertisers of expensive merchandise catered to "discriminating" people. But recently the proprietor of a high-class restaurant changed his advertising of many years standing from "serving a *discriminating* clientele" to a "*discerning* clientele." He confided to friends that what with the noise over Little Rock, the Supreme Court, the NAACP and everything else, he didn't want to be misunderstood. This incident dramatizes the absurdity of the situation and the degree to which aggressive minorities already tyrannize the majority; a restaurateur is induced to change his advertising to placate the feelings of people who have been so busy looking for trouble and grinding axes that they haven't had time to familiarize themselves with the dictionary definitions of "discrimination."

A People Maligned . . .

At any rate, now that we've established that most Americans, under the influence of the liberal propaganda barrage, today accept the term "discrimination" as denoting solely something evil, let us see just how evil we are as a nation. The liberal bleeding hearts in this country, led by Generalissima Eleanor Roosevelt, a professional meddler, are always telling us how ashamed

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we should be of all our sins — such as engaging in racial and other forms of discrimination — as the rest of the world is said to watch our shame with amazement and horror. Eleanor & Company inform us how disturbed our "friends" are in Asia and Africa when they hear about things like Little Rock — conveniently ignoring, of course, that not the citizens of Little Rock but the liberals in Washington promoted to an incident of international importance what would otherwise have been a purely local and temporary problem. Eleanor and the Americans For Democratic Action warn us darkly that we cannot qualify for leadership of the free world unless we mend our bad ways and cleanse ourselves of our sins. And you and I are supposed to hang our heads in shame.

To hear these liberal pontificators talk you gain two distinct and viciously wrong impressions — that conditions of discrimination in the United States are much worse than is actually true; and that no such thing as discrimination exists outside this country. The facts, of course, are altogether different. Discrimination is an entirely human phenomenon, encountered the world over among all races, nationalities, religions, classes and other groupings into which men are divided. And while discrimination can be reduced, the realistic observer knows there is an irreducible point beyond which not much can be accomplished. Any informed person knows that there is fantastically more class distinction today in the Soviet military and civilian structure than we have in the United States. Jawaharlal Nehru may comment in shocked tones about discrimination in our country, but Nehru is, among many unpleasant

things, a hypocrite. For in his own India there is more, and more varied, medieval discrimination than can be found anywhere in the Western world. Significantly, the individuals and groups engaging in hostile discrimination in India have lived together since long before the appearance on the scene of the former colonial overlords from Britain, whereas in this country African Negroes, who had nothing whatever in common with the white population, were brought in relatively recently under the most unusual and unnatural circumstances imaginable.

For A Universal Fault . . .

Discrimination in the great majority of cases never erupts into violence, but that does not mean there is no discrimination. It is simply a fact that all over the world racial, national, religious and other majorities proceed to arrange things as they like them best, and resent aggressive minorities that would change whatever established order is involved. Thus to single out the United States for condemnation — which has become a sport among domestic and foreign liberals — is unfair and unintelligent in the extreme. Whatever selfish objectives may have motivated him, it is an historical fact that the white man from Europe introduced in the areas concerned a civilization and established an economy without which today sovereign states like India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and many others would not be possible. (See the recent complaint of one African nation that it was more backward than its neighbors because it had never had the benefits of colonialism!) And the white intellectual in the United States was heavily responsible for helping those peoples to obtain sov-

ereignty and termination of colonial rule once the time for such a step seemed ripe. Yet a white man going about legitimate business almost anywhere in Asia today is keenly aware of dislike and of discriminatory treatment.

In spite of the fact that Indonesia, for instance, has been the recipient of American foreign aid, owes its very existence as an independent state largely to United States policy, and badly needs all the economic support and know-how she can obtain, every American businessman familiar with that country will tell you how the Indonesian bureaucracy goes out of its way to make life miserable for an American trying to operate there. The result of the almost sadistic chicanery of the bureaucracy and the officially stirred-up population has been a mass exodus of American and European businessmen and companies even before the latest outrageous Communist-led excesses against Dutch firms and personnel.

Of Infinite Variations . . .

A Christian living in Israel would surely have reasons to complain about "discrimination" in several forms and would certainly find it imperative to comply with the customs and regulations of the Jewish majority. A white man living in the Negro Republic of Ghana also would have to adjust himself to many conditions he might not particularly appreciate, or get out. Active Protestants are likely to encounter all sorts of difficulties almost everywhere in Roman Catholic Spain and in certain sections of Portugal and Italy, plus areas in Latin America. By the same token, active Catholics might run into embarrassing social and professional situations in Protestant Scan-

dinavia, and might find it virtually impossible to serve in any official capacity.

The dockworker isn't welcome at the Polo Club of the high society anywhere, and in an esoteric circle of professional army officers the humble civilian is made to feel uncomfortable . . . And so it goes. The examples of discrimination in one form or another the world over are almost endless. As noted earlier, most of it never erupts into violence and national headlines, but that does not alter the emotions and motives of the people involved. Violence is likely to break out when an aggressive minority, led by impatient and perhaps sinister men, seeks to impose itself and its ways upon an alarmed majority seeking to protect its traditional patterns and interests. Thus there may be trouble if a number of Negroes decide to move into an all-white neighborhood, regardless of the feelings of the residents, or if a white family is confronted with the possibility of their daughter's marrying a Negro. But there would also be trouble if an American Baptist on business in Spain met and wanted to marry the daughter of a Spanish ducal family steeped in the ancient and strict traditions of the Roman Catholic Church. And there would be trouble, undoubtedly culminating in violence, if a group of determined dockworkers, no matter how decent they might otherwise be, forced their way into the Polo Club and declared they wouldn't leave until they had been made members.

Worst Where Least Expected . . .

One was stimulated to think along these lines by a pertinent report on a situation which has developed in the Negro Republic of Liberia. The report appeared in the November 25th issue of

NEWSWEEK, under the heading "Racialism in Reverse." Actually racialism "in reverse" seems a little misleading. Rather, it is an example of that racial and of all other forms of discrimination which, as we have noted, simply exist everywhere. Nevertheless, the NEWSWEEK story should be widely quoted because it helps to underline how absurd it is for Eleanor Roosevelt and other leftist-liberals to talk incessantly as if, in the whole wide world, only the bad white Americans were guilty of discrimination.

The story, as reported in NEWSWEEK, concerns a man called Uwe Schoenig, who married a girl by name of Marion Nassau. For marrying the girl, Schoenig was fired from his job. The trouble was, said NEWSWEEK, that Miss Nassau, a pretty instructor at the University of Liberia, was a Negro, while Schoenig was a white man who had come from Germany to work for a German firm operating in the Negro Republic's capital of Monrovia. Schoenig was offered transportation back to Germany, but refused. All-powerful President William Tubman, in his annual address to the Liberian legislature, demanded a new law making it a criminal offense for a company to dismiss an employee after an inter-racial marriage — even if the company gives other reasons for the dismissal.

However, Mr. Schoenig's dilemma is actually overshadowed by the far more serious and widespread incidence of discrimination in Liberia reported in the same NEWSWEEK article — this having to do with discrimination practiced by *Negroes against Negroes*. President Tubman's real integration problems, wrote the magazine, lie not between whites and blacks but between

the one thousand "American-Liberians," proud descendants of freed slaves who began landing on the West African coast in 1822, and an estimated two to four million others, largely illiterate and disease-ridden back-country tribesmen. The "civilized," as the American descendants are called, long suppressed the "uncivilized" and even sold them into slavery on such a scale that in 1930 the League of Nations went so far as to propose the abolishment of Liberia as a state unfit to govern itself responsibly. Tubman himself warned that anyone who discriminates against the "uncivilized" will be considered "an enemy of the state" and a "confirmed lunatic." Nevertheless, noted NEWSWEEK, "despite the new law the old hostilities are deep-seated."

With Elimination Always Difficult . . .

With only about one thousand white people in Liberia, there has been little racial trouble between whites and blacks, although the NEWSWEEK article pointed to the fact that even the government headed by President Tubman enforces a degree of racial discrimination. For instance, the German Schoenig, whose wedding was one of about twenty interracial marriages per year, is now in business in Monrovia for himself. However, as a white man he is under the law *barred from becoming a citizen of Liberia*.

These are conditions which the integration fanatics in this country might frightfully ponder. Mr. Schoenig married the Negro girl in spite of the difficulties and hostilities which he immediately encountered. He now has his own business in the Negro Republic. If the couple have children, these will be colored, and the parents will probably

decide that the children are better off in Liberia than they might be in white Germany. Thus Mr. Schoenig, for reasons which he considers good and valid, had made and will make certain far-reaching decisions which will steer his own future and that of his descendants into a pattern radically different from what it would have been had he never left Germany. Under these circumstances, he would very likely decide the proper thing to do is to become a Liberian citizen and share in all the responsibilities as well as privileges of citizenship, thus ending that status of insecurity which in most countries is the lot of those who remain aliens permanently. But there is *racial discrimination in the Negro Republic of Liberia*, and thus — unless at some time or other in the future the law is changed — Mr. Schoenig cannot become a citizen.

But The "Liberals" Never Learn . . .

This article was written for the benefit of ordinary Americans who would like to inform themselves and may at times be in danger of becoming confused by the unctuous propaganda of the intellectual Left. It was not written in any hope of impressing the professional "liberals". Their minds are made up; far from being truly liberal, they are vindictively intolerant of every opinion but their own; they do not wish to be confused by the facts; they are incorrigible. But the public should be made to realize how these "liberals" incessantly trumpet that *we* — always we — have a duty to do this and that and something else again, but when foreign nations fail to practice what these liberals tell us we must do . . . why, then, of course, we just don't talk about it! "Only a reactionary would be tactless enough to bring up such embarrassing truths!"

For

Alfred Noyes

As after Rome, now once again the drapes
Of ignorance and bigotry and lust
May close upon the scene. Insentient dust
Will bury the forgotten stage. And apes
Who know not man, his glory and his dreams,
His wish to be more worthy of his God,
Will stalk the earth and wield the brutal rod,
And stamp upon each tiny light that gleams.
Amid the dull collective monotone
Of universal serfdom will be lost
The memory of song and singer. Prone
And helpless, soon, upon the rubbish tossed,
Will die the Muse. Let us rejoice to own
This one great poet more before the holocaust.

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

EDWIN McDOWELL

TO REVERSE the famous slogan of the *New Yorker*, this feature is not written for the Madison Avenue sophisticates. We shall have in mind the reader who is more interested in the content, slant, and public reception of the most important new books than in the cleverness of the reviewer. Consequently most of our comments will be as elementary as the Ten Commandments, as out-of-date as self-reliance, and as straightforward as simple truth. Doubtless we shall be laughed at by the "liberal" intellectuals, because many of our pronouncements will also be naive — as naive as the idea that two plus two still equals four.

The whole concept of this REVIEW is naive. Ambitious as Newton when he "took all knowledge to be his province" (but unlike him in any other respect), we shall try to make a bird's-eye survey of the complete book-publishing scene every month. The bird's eye will pay little attention to most of the popular fiction, for books like *Peyton Place* and *By Love Possessed* will hardly suffer from too little publicity in these pages. But we shall pause to discuss in each issue, for a varying number of lines or paragraphs, some ten to fifteen books which we think you might like to have brought to your notice. We shall even go behind the screen erected by the *New York Times Book Review*, the *Saturday Review of Literature*, and their partners in public obfuscation, to point out worth-while

books which have been "reviewed by omission."

Of course you will know what we personally think of each book, whether we merely tap it or wholly dissect it. But we shall try hard to be as objective and fair in each operation as our quotas of human nature and blank space make possible.

* * *

Now we'll prove our rule, of dealing with new books only, by making an exception of the very first item. CONQUEST OF THE AMERICAN MIND (Meador Pub. Co., Boston), by Dr. Felix Wittmer, was published a year ago. But if you missed it, don't.

Dr. Wittmer examines with great clarity the "rotten spiritual and intellectual core" (of socialist creeps) which has infested our schools and infected our every-day life. He piles up fact after fact, to deliver a smashing indictment against those who — under the umbrella of "freedom", academic or otherwise — use our honored institutions and organizations for subversive purposes.

Dr. Wittmer knows firsthand what it is like to swim against the collectivist tide lapping around our ivory towers. After eleven years as a history professor at New Jersey State Teachers College, Montclair, he was forced to resign. E. Merrill Root wrote in *Collectivism On The Campus*: "Dr. Wittmer's ordeal by 'liberalism' occurred because he saw very early, and

pointed out, the threat of Soviet Communism—at a time when collaboration with it was the intellectual habit of the day.”

That habit, this book makes clear, has steadily become more fixed and more malignant. From a small group of educators and agents, the collectivists (who gravitated mainly toward Columbia Teachers College), and the Communists (whose first choice was Harvard), have “in the course of twenty years turned thousands of teachers into the missionaries of their creed.” With smooth tongues and slippery pens these mind-poisoners in pedagogue’s clothing have done great harm to our country. Their Fabian dreams and Communist schemes are now firmly embedded in the minds of millions of Americans, for whom a republican form of limited government has become an out-moded concept.

Dr. Wittmer has compiled a great deal of evidence showing the liberal press at work, in a silent conspiracy to suppress books and articles by libertarian authors, while glorifying the brain-children of the Left. With encyclopedic detail he names persons and cites publications. He has shown a similar quicksilver-like conspiracy at its similar task, with regard to many other activities which determine America’s thinking. His research has been masterfully organized, his conclusions are irrefutable, and the results of his efforts—are up to you.

* * *

Russell Kirk, young dean of conservative thinkers in the United States, has written not one but two brilliant new books for Americanists.

THE AMERICAN CAUSE (Henry Regnery Company, Chicago) defends

the social and moral principles on which our country was founded, and marshals these Christian moral beliefs in support of our free economic system. Mr. Kirk makes devastating use of the sword of logic to pierce the specious arguments of the collectivists. He also notes that “when men have lost their customary beliefs they seek a fanaticism that promises peace of body and mind, and often leads to Communism.”

THE INTELLIGENT WOMAN’S GUIDE TO CONSERVATISM (Devin-Adair Co., N.Y.) explains the essence of conservative thought, and contrasts this viewpoint with that of “liberalism”. Mr. Kirk describes a conservative as “a friend to religious belief, to national loyalty, to established rights in society, and to the wisdom of our ancestors.” Though addressed to women (as a spoof of George Bernard Shaw’s title, *The Intelligent Woman’s Guide To Socialism*), this concise book is a godsend for anyone who wishes to understand the theory and evolution of present-day conservatism.

Both books should be required reading in every university in America. But Mr. Kirk is too direct, too logical, and too pro-American for his thought to be allowed to contaminate our campuses. An author who makes as much sense as Russell Kirk is usually proscribed by the Liberal Establishment as “controversial.” It wouldn’t do to let him upset the dear little socialist minds of the brain-washed sophomores.

* * *

The *Chicago History Of American Civilization* is a projected series of books “which aims to enliven the historical literature, to invigorate it with judgments, and to enrich it with the best

and most recent scholarship.” Actually the series is a brazen yet queasy vindication of the socialistic state which has been imposed so subtly on our framework of government. Dean Acheson, George Catlett Marshall, and Alger Hiss become the heroic defenders of our American heritage, while McCarthy, MacArthur, and Whittaker Chambers are the villainous usurpers of freedom. Maybe George Orwell was too optimistic when he thought it would take until 1984 for black to become entirely white, and vice versa.

Two books in the series (of which twenty-odd titles are to follow) are THE NEW AGE OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, 1932-45, by Dexter Perkins, and THE PRICE OF POWER, by Herbert Agar. The first opus is the typical glorification of Franklin Roosevelt which, under various titles by various authors, has graced (or disgraced) the pages of the *New York Times Book Review* for so many years that their compositors now probably set most of the reviews of it from memory. The second masterpiece contains the fiercest, most scurrilous attacks on patriotic Americans since John Roy Carlson’s *Undercover*. This accounts in part, at least, for the extreme popularity and praise being given it by the “intellectuals” of Europe. We leave it, for the moment, to their attention.

In Perkins’ book, the Great Egotist becomes the Great Economist; the Colossal Blunderer becomes the Shrewd Diplomat. As far as Perkins is concerned, Roosevelt could do little wrong. The unbalancing of the budget is “defensible in theory.” The Yalta Pact was all right, “because Roosevelt gave away nothing that the Russians would not

have been able to take anyway.” Such links of specious reasoning form the chain of the book’s argument.

The book is neither scholarly nor objective. And if you really want to learn anything about His Breezy Majesty Franklin D. Roosevelt, or the Communist courtiers who cunningly determined most of the policies during our “unlucky thirteen” years of his reign, we suggest that you stow Mr. Perkins on the shelf alongside Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in the “unintentional fiction” department, and go back to the books of John T. Flynn.

* * *

But the most secure spot on that shelf should undoubtedly be allocated to the second volume of this *Chicago History* series. If history books of the future are to resemble Agar’s *The Price Of Power*, it would be better just to eliminate history. For truth and scholarship will have completely disappeared, under the flood of “liberal” legend.

For example, Mr. Agar solemnly states that in Korea our “victory was endangered far more by Syngman Rhee than by the Russians or the Chinese.” (General James A. Van Fleet, who fought in this war with Rhee as an ally and knew both him and the real history of the Korean tragedy from active participation, has said that Syngman Rhee was “worth his weight in diamonds” and “one of the greatest statesmen who ever lived.”) Mr. Agar taunts Robert Taft as having been an anachronism; and informs us that Alger Hiss was hated because “he was intelligent and possessed manners.” And of course the omniscient adult, Herbert Agar, puts that immature child, General

A Review Of Reviews

Douglas MacArthur, in his proper place, with only the dunce cap left to one's imagination.

It's too bad George Orwell died before we got this far along in the fulfillment of his prophecy. Under his "Big Brother" scheme of government, one of the means to absolute control over a people is the constant rewriting of history to suit the purpose of the state. First you suppress the true history, and then you proceed to falsify it until the new version is satisfactory for your needs. As Bryton Barron and Donald Dozer gave up their careers to tell the American people, that suppression of true history, and of the official documents which reveal it, is being carried out regularly and unblushingly, on a huge scale, in our State Department today. It is only left for men like Mr. Agar to write the distorted new history, which can be given out as truth.

The pity is that it *will* be received as truth. *The Saturday Review* enthusiastically gushed: "In his role as a gadfly bestirring thought, a somber Herbert Agar serves the nation well with his new book." So far as the determined "liberals" are concerned, Agar has presented an acceptable story of America's decline. It will be recommended reading for most college history students, few of whom will have any knowledge of honest history against which to appraise its misleading absurdities.

The same process has, of course, been going on for a generation. That is why so many students of yesterday, who are the professors, lawyers, and business men of today, have been so ready to swallow piece by incredible piece the propaganda bait that hooked them onto any current Communist propaganda line. The only current change is in the

tempo and brazenness of this distortion of history. Both are rapidly increasing.

* * *

While Imre Nagy criticizes Russia, he does not criticize Communism. On the contrary, he advocates a return of Communist regimes to the principles of Marx and Lenin. **IMRE NAGY ON COMMUNISM** (Frederick A. Praeger, N. Y.) is the political philosophy of the veteran Communist who, as Premier during the Hungarian Revolt, demanded that the Soviets withdraw from Hungary, to allow his country to work out its own destiny.

How much sincerity there was in this demand, or whether the whole maneuver was dictated from the Kremlin, we do not pretend to know. But today Nagy is "somewhere in the Soviet world", ostensibly a captive of the conspiracy he worked so tirelessly to advance. And though he probably would still deny it, Communism remains murderous tyranny, whether it be the Communism of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev—or Imre Nagy. We must note too, in connection with any book of Communist authorship, that a Communist remains a dedicated liar, whether he is in prison or out.

Nagy's book is written for Communists. It is, therefore, weighted down with doubletalk, euphemisms, and contradictions. Nevertheless, it has value for anybody who would like to study the rationalizations the human mind must make in order to embrace this system. Read objectively, by anti-Communists, this book could help the cause of freedom. Which is certainly the last thing its author intended.

* * *

In the first two decades of this century John Dewey developed the ideas

and plans which have been most generally identified by the term "Progressive Education". Such phrases as "Modern Education" or "The New Education" are largely attempts to disguise Deweyism in practice, under new terminology and with the adjustments of his disciples added.

Lenin saw in Dewey's methods "an opportunity to eliminate from Russian life religious faith, private property, family and parental authority." So in 1918 the new Communist masters in Russia imported the Progressive Education system, lock, stock, and barrel; and laid out the new education in Russia on the Dewey model. By 1932 the Communists had discovered that the Dewey plan also eliminated—besides the items listed above—all necessary discipline and all worth-while education. So they threw it overboard for themselves, and returned to an intensive orthodox educational program. But at the same time they went to work all the harder to help Dewey and his disciples to impose their schemes more thoroughly on America. For there was nothing the Communists wanted more than to eliminate from American life "religious faith, private property, family and parental authority", plus all necessary discipline, and all worth-while education.

If you wish a fully documented record, showing through whom, by what methods, and to what extent, they and their busy helpers have prostituted our whole educational system to the service of those purposes, read **BENDING THE TWIG** (The Heritage Foundation, Chicago), by Augustin Rudd. You will better understand why "we have already lost the battle for engineering manpower" was a true statement as

early as 1955. And that particular result, while much emphasized right now because of the Sputnik furor, is only a very tiny part of the tremendous general loss we have sustained. Col. Rudd's book will make you aware of the total loss.

* * *

Let's end this cacophony on a happier note. Taylor Caldwell is one of America's most popular novelists. The Review Establishment, which once praised her work to the skies, now does all it can to ridicule her books, ignore them and have them ignored. For Taylor Caldwell is now recognized as one of our country's most devoted and determined anti-Communist patriots. It is for exactly the same reason that we step outside our "no-fiction" borders, to inform you that **THE SOUND OF THUNDER** (Doubleday, N. Y.) is the newest of her excellent tales.

The rise of Edward Enger from a delicatessen helper to a rich man may be an Horatio Alger-type plot. But Miss Caldwell's understanding of people and her dynamic narrative skill lift this story far above the ordinary rags-to-riches novel of a less tense and less sophisticated age. *The Sound Of Thunder* is a warm book, as well as an entertaining one. It will stir the reader's emotions as well as provide him with many vicarious thrills. Judged by the early sales, it is also going to be a very successful book—continuing that momentum of Miss Caldwell's popularity which even the dirty digs of *Time Magazine* have not yet been able to kill. We hope that this momentum and her great ability will make her each new book more popular than the last one.

LOOKING BOTH WAYS



HUBERT W. KREGELOH

We are delighted and honored to introduce Hubert Kregeloh to our readers as one of our associate editors. Each month he will condense the vapors of world news, crystallize the condensation into nuggets bristling with dates, places, names, and other specific facts, and then present the most important of those nuggets in his summary: *A Review Of The News* (See Page 13). Frequently he will write for us an additional article on any topic that tempts his pen, as he did for this number (See Page 33). And we shall have the benefit of his knowledge, experience, and insight available at all times.

Mr. Kregeloh is one of our country's most penetrating and dependable analysts of the events and personalities which make up the news. Born in Austria, of British and Belgian parents, he has had years of residence and travel in many areas of Europe and the Middle East. He is now an American citizen. During the past twelve years, as a commentator over Station WSPR, Mr. Kregeloh has built up a large and enthusiastic following. Recently he has become firmly established on Station WNBH as well. And he has won many awards for the quality and informational value of his programs.

Besides broadcasting, lecturing widely, and serving as a member of the faculty of Bay Path Junior College, Mr. Kregeloh has been putting out a monthly newsletter, HUBERT KREGELOH COMMENTS. This publication, which grew out of the demands of his radio listeners for some printed record of his spoken thoughts and observations on world affairs, has now been merged into AMERICAN OPINION. We hope that his former readers will continue to follow his brilliant treatises, in the pages of this magazine, and that all of our other subscribers will profit from them as well.

AMERICAN OPINION will retain much of the character of that informal review, ONE MAN'S OPINION, which died in giving it birth. But "the old order changeth, yielding place to new," even in a magazine with an incorrigibly intrusive editor. We shall now be looking outside for the best thinking and most skillful writing we can find to offer you.

There will be certain prerequisites: (1) Both the thinking and the writing must be honest; (2) the subject matter and its treatment must be worth your time for other reasons than sheer entertainment; and (3) the authors must belong to the Americanist rather than the Communist camp, in the warfare which divides our anxious world. We shall consider fairness and objectivity, in the discussion of every person and every event, to be of vital importance; but impartiality we shall scorn as a combination of pretense and cowardice.

William Schlam will regularly lead off our list with his *European Survey*. Also superbly meeting our uncompromising requirements, there will be forthcoming in an early issue an article by J. B. Matthews on the *World Health Organization*; one by Hans Sennholz on some aspects of the Federal Reserve System; one by Colm Brogan on the campaign in England to stifle the expression of any opposition to the socialist-Communist point of view; and many other combinations of solid information and incisive opinion. It's true that the editor, in order to pacify all three of those nostalgic readers who praised ONE MAN'S OPINION, will have a long article in each issue of AMERICAN OPINION. But we still hope you will like our magazine.

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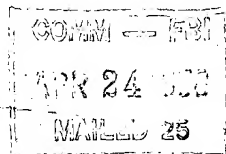
My attention has been called to your review
of my new book, "Masters of Deceit," in the May, 1958,
issue of American Opinion, and I do want to express my
appreciation for your generous comments.

It is my sincere hope that this book will be
of assistance to the American people in their fight against
communism. You were very kind to call it to the attention
of your readers.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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NOTE: Nothing identifiable on [redacted] or Robert Welch, editor, in
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Clennon King

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Volume 1 Number 4

MAY 1958

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AMERICAN OPINION

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April 3, 1958

Dear Readers:

This is just a word of thanks, to people we never see, for letters we can never answer.

For there must be few things in this feverish world more interesting than the mail of a small publisher. Subscriptions, renewals, cancellations, orders for extra copies, manuscripts, bills, changes of address; these routine components are only the beginning.

In one recent small batch there was a letter over a thousand words long, apologizing because the writer did not feel financially able to subscribe to our magazine. (We gave him a subscription.) There was a labored diatribe, telling us that our *Letter To Khrushchev* was "the most monumental piece of tripe" the author had ever read; and that he was sure nobody except the editor, the proofreader, and this critic himself, even waded through it. (He should have to acknowledge the response!) There was a check from one enthusiastic reader, who had already sent us subscriptions for many of his friends, covering five more similar subscriptions—and extending his own to sometime in 1963! (That one we really appreciate!) And there were forty-three more items, equally diverse.

Merely going through the mail every morning is an adventure—and an education. But the irreducible overhead with which this business operates makes individual replies, to most of the letters received, simply impossible. This is something for which we are extremely sorry. For we read them all. They are one of the greatest joys of our existence, and greatest helps to our straining efforts. Let'em come.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

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EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Mailed from Zurich, March 16, 1958

IT WON'T BE BELIEVED in the nicer sections of Boston, but Great Britain is at this moment the weakest link in the Western Alliance. This realm, this England, is currently going through the strangest eruption of political primitiveness—strange even if one takes into account that the British have always been given to a political eccentricity which superficial observers habitually misunderstand as plain stupidity. Whatever it is, this time England has got it bad.

The mysterious movement that is shaking all of England is a combination of the weirdest sort of political leadership and human conduct. Millions of Britons are banding together to cajole and blackmail their government into a policy of frantic capitulation. That is, into an immediate unilateral cessation of atomic armament; into a behavior that amounts to a forcible deportation of atom-armed United States air forces; into an immediate Summit Conference with the Soviets, whether or not the United States and some other British allies are ready to attend one. The manners and methods of the "movement" remind one of nothing so much as of the Holy Rollers. And the intellectual leadership of the crazy crusade is in the hands of Great Britain's aged buffoon, Lord Bertrand Russell,

whose top aides seem to have been pulled from all parties and all social strata. (Among them are, naturally enough, Mr. Arnold Toynbee, the over-sold "Christian" historian, and Mr. J. B. Priestley, the playwright who has never missed a chance to make fools of his audiences.)

The Lord Speaks For Labor . . .

Now the Labor Party, of course, didn't hesitate to adjust itself to the savage orgy of utopian thrills that has seemed to take hold of the British body politic. Labor has just passed a formal resolution that not only endorses Bertrand Russell's list of peculiar particulars, and adds to it the demand for Britain's acceptance of the Rapacki Plan; but that promises the organization of a country-wide shock campaign which is meant to make the government yield. Some observers claim that the Labor leadership acted under duress, does not really support Lord Bertrand's follies, and is actually trying to abort the "movement" by controlling its motions. And indeed, there have been lately a few Labor functionaries who produced very articulate arguments against the utopians. Mr. Shinwell, for instance, the Defense Minister in the last Labor cabinet, gave one of the most cogent speeches of recent

times against the irresponsible kind of pacifism that is at the bottom of the current spasm. But Mr. Gaitskell, Labor's official leader, is himself hopelessly inveigled into the irresponsible political "planning" that started it all—the philosophizing à la Kennan that not only grants the possibility but demands the *realization* of a conclusive deal with Communism. The Russell "movement" is merely the plebeian response to the Deep Thinking of Ivy League Liberals and Socialists.

Nor is this response, by any means, confined to "men on the street". It penetrates some of England's most respectable clubs and newspapers, the organizations of the apparently reviving Liberal Party, and even the backbenches of the Conservative Government. The Conservatives, it seems, are badly frightened by the recent by-elections, which brought clear indications of a fatal Conservative shrinkage in the British electorate; and they are flirting with plain demagoguery. Some of them make noises that are indistinguishable from the sounds of traditionally banal radicalism. The *London Times*, which still enjoys the greatest intimacy with the British Foreign Office, often out-Kennans Kennan.

But, nonetheless, the main support of the Russell crusade comes from Labor—which is no consolation. British Labor is evidently riding a new tide that seems to be carrying it straight back to power. If Labor could enforce elections before the end of 1958 (which, in spite of Prime Minister Macmillan's ostentatious cheerfulness, is entirely possible) it would apparently win them. The reason for this is not so much a stiffening of socialist doctrine in the British people (although there is an interesting renaissance of utopian dog-

matism within the Labor Party). The reason is, first, a perfectly savage outbreak of the kind of British pacifism that, under Baldwin, demoralized England in the thirties and brought about World War II. It is, second, a demonstrable British apprehension that the days of prosperity are just about over. And the reason is, third, that British Conservatism hasn't shown one bit of gumption since it came to power. The electorate is simply becoming bored and tired with an unprincipled Conservatism that imitates Socialism without showing the emotional fervor that, fundamentally, accounts for the attractiveness of Socialism. In politics, he who sows boredom will reap defeats.

And Labors For Lunacy . . .

Meanwhile, the eighty-five years old Bertrand Russell has the time of his life. Until a short time ago, his constituency was mainly the *New York Times*—which, for years now, has been presenting him to the United States, practically every week in its *Sunday Magazine*, as The Voice of Western Wisdom. (And the TV networks, always animated by the political intelligence of Mr. Edward R. Murrow, have of course amplified the American importance of the clown who once was a great mathematician.) But in England, Lord Russell was practically forgotten, and certainly discounted. Now he is a political force of the first magnitude; and for those who know him, and England, this is the most eerie aspect of a fantastic situation. For this restless old fellow has always been a frivolous caricature of political man: Since the First World War, he has repeatedly advised his nation to commit suicide.

In 1914, he advocated a refusal to

bear arms. In 1918, he advocated the goals and claims of the Bolshevik Revolution. In 1938, he advocated a unilateral disarmament of Great Britain ("If necessary," he said then, "England should welcome Hitler's invading armies as tourists"). In 1948 he said: "Either we must make war on the Soviets while they lack the atomic bomb, or we must yield to them and let them rule over us. An atomic war now would be a war to end wars." And in 1958, he indeed advocated that England yield to the Soviets and let them rule over Europe.

Bertrand Russell is a tiresome screwball; and, personally, he should interest us only inasmuch as he remains one of the chief attractions of the intellectual fiesta with which the *New York Times*, and the Liberal Establishment as a whole, bamboozle the American intelligentsia into total confusion. But, unfortunately, Bertrand Russell is today perhaps a more powerful figure in the imagination of the British people than the Prime Minister. With his eternally mocking tone of cynical superiority, Lord Russell harangues the British people to do as the lemmings and jump in the sea. And they are listening to him. This, to me, is the most important story of the month.

* * *

But Russell Has Rivals . . .

Unavoidably, the German "neutralists" are itching to keep step with their British brethren. Herr Ollenhauer, the rotund head of the German Social Democracy, has just delivered himself of a pronouncement that may have dire consequences for Germany and Europe. If, he said, Poland and Czechoslovakia expressed their readiness to withdraw, within the Rapacki Plan, from the

Warsaw Pact, Germany would have to withdraw from NATO. Thus, for the first time in many a month, a responsible German politician has ventilated the possibility of a German break with NATO—and there is no one in Europe who doubts that, without Germany, NATO ceases to exist.

Herr Ollenhauer's tit-for-tat concession was a rather unbelievable performance, even for a Social Democratic leader. The Warsaw Pact, by itself, is a perfectly meaningless contraption. In the Soviet world, it never matters what formal treaties and pacts stipulate; it doesn't even matter whether they exist. What matters alone is the resolution, the firmness of the Communist Governments at the helm: Do they, or don't they, adhere to the basic Communist principle of "proletarian solidarity" vis-à-vis the non-Communist world? That is, do they, written pacts notwithstanding, basically believe in common interests of the Communist block in regard to the "capitalist" camp? And would they, in the event of a conflagration, fight on the Soviet side? Not even Herr Ollenhauer would dare deny that the Communist Governments of Czechoslovakia and Poland, in the case of a conflagration, would act as Communist Governments—i.e., fight "the final battle" in alliance with the Soviet Union.

In The Race To Surrender . . .

In the face of this unequivocal fact of life, a promise by Germany that she will leave NATO, if only Czechoslovakia and Poland will formally withdraw from the Warsaw Pact, would amount to actually *leaving* NATO; and for no consideration at all. The Warsaw Pact was never anything but a propagandistic reply to European notions of some

kind of unity. Its signatories have never so much as contended that, by signing the Pact, they had created *new* facts. They merely expressed the undying readiness of Communist Governments to consider themselves forever linked in the interests of advancing World Communism. Czechoslovakia and Poland could "withdraw" today from the Warsaw Pact without the slightest reproach from, or damage to, the Soviet Union. In fact, the Soviet Government would *make* them "withdraw" immediately if, in exchange for such a meaningless gesture, the Soviets could realize their strategic immediate main goal in Europe—Germany's withdrawal from NATO.

For, contrary to the fictitious meaning of the Warsaw Pact, Germany's belonging to NATO is the paramount and perhaps the only reality in the entire NATO concept. Militarily, the German contribution in arms and men will constitute, in 1960, not just the skeleton but the entire effectiveness of NATO's continental establishment. The moment Germany leaves NATO, the defense of Europe has collapsed. Herr Ollenhauer has now committed his party (which may form the next German Government) to buying the phoniest goldbrick in the history of the con game: In exchange for Czechoslovakia's and Poland's tearing up a meaningless piece of paper, an Ollenhauer-led Germany will tear up the fabric of Western Europe.

This, verily, is an act unparalleled even by our inimitable British clown, Bertrand Russell. Europe's "neutralists" are in a mad race to outdo one another. At this time, the prize goes to Herr Ollenhauer. But the British "neutralists" follow neck-by-neck. The *Manchester Guardian*, for instance, has just

run an editorial that Khrushchev must have added to his most cherished trophies. Any Soviet attempt, mediated the venerable British paper, to occupy West Berlin must not, *and will not*, be fought by NATO with tactical atomic weapons. The *Manchester Guardian*, in other words, is not going to die for Danzig, even if Danzig, this time, is called Berlin. When this kind of slogan was used last time (by the French in 1939), Hitler went and took Danzig—and the rest. Maybe Khrushchev is more patient than Hitler, and postpones taking Berlin even after he has been assured by an outstanding British paper that he may, whenever convenient. In fact, it is quite likely that Khrushchev doesn't give a damn about West Berlin anyhow, as he has very good chances to get all of Europe simply by being nice and peaceful. Nevertheless, the growing British outspokenness is quite a temptation even for so patient a man as Khrushchev. A few weeks after Mr. Acheson made his historic remark about the unimportance of Korea, the rockets went off. If Khrushchev is not awfully phlegmatic, it may happen again.

* * *

While in France . . .

No one could be more surprised than French Prime Minister Gaillard that he is still in power. However, he isn't quite "in power". For the only reason he hasn't been formally thrown out is that the fixers of the French parliament have not yet agreed on his successor. And as there are some politically significant regional elections scheduled for April, the consensus seems to be that there's no profit in the usual free-for-all before May. So it seems that the Gaillard Government

will stay in power for a few more weeks—though there's not a single French political party that would fully underwrite its policies. On the contrary, the normal French *malaise* is particularly high-pitched right now: The conflict with Tunisia threatens to become even more dismal than that with Algeria; French casualty lists in North Africa are getting longer every day; and the United States "mediator", Mr. Murphy, gives the French an ugly feeling of national inferiority. No one in France would dare *not* to accept America's "good services" in negotiating with the Tunisians; but neither is there a Frenchman who can swallow his disgust with a world that constantly "meddles" in French "interior affairs". The United States, in any case, is bound to get it coming and going: If Mr. Murphy's intervention in Tunisia does *not* succeed, the French will of course blame any future trouble in North Africa on American "clumsiness"; but if Mr. Murphy *should* have luck, the French will forever resent United States officiousness.

The Situation Is Normal . . .

At the moment, three French politicians maneuver for the key position in the forthcoming cabinet reshuffle: two former Prime Ministers, Pleven and Faure, and the former Minister of the Interior, Mitterand. Pleven is trying to sell himself as the man who can "liberalize" French policies in Algeria without offending the right-wing parties. Mitterand would not mind offending them, if he can rally the left majority. But Edgar Faure, one of the ablest and most unprincipled French politicians, keeps talking of a "strong" Government of the left, *with more or less open support by the Communist Party*. In

short, Faure thinks of a revival of the Popular Front.

These diligent maneuvers do not mean that one of the three anxious men will be France's next Prime Minister. There's always the former Prime Minister, the terribly ambitious and driven Georges Bidault, who dreams of a come-back as the leader of a right-wing coalition. There is the former aide of General De Gaulle's, Soustelle, who used to be French High Commissioner in Algeria and is trying to sell himself as a true Algerian expert to a similar right-wing coalition. And there is, finally, General De Gaulle himself. For almost two years now the ground-floor wizards of French politics have been expecting his return to power at every critical turn of events; and they are today more hopeful than ever since the General withdrew into mystical privacy. Indeed, if a secret poll were taken among the French deputies, a clear majority would line up behind De Gaulle. But very few professional politicians want to go *openly* on a pro-De Gaulle record: The General has made abundantly clear that he won't accept an invitation without getting, at the same time, a constitutional reform from Parliament which reduces the powers of professional politicians and increases those of the Executive. To make De Gaulle take over the government, Parliament would therefore have to castrate itself. The problem is tough. And yet, talk of De Gaulle's comeback increases every day.

All Fouled Up, and Getting Worse . . .

Which is by no means unnatural. By now, everybody in France agrees that a final and radical solution in Algeria must be found, and quick, if France is to survive. Also, everybody agrees that

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no "normal" French Government would dare such a solution: If it is reached by strong-hand methods, the Government could not resist the onslaught of the French Left and of traditional United States "anti-colonialism"; but if it were reached by a radical withdrawal from Algeria, such a solution would result in a Rightist French upheaval. Thus, "normal" French governments are paralyzed, of necessity. And, therefore, all intelligent observers in France agree that only a government that would enjoy De Gaulle's "charismatic" authority in France and abroad could undertake a radical solution of the *one* kind or the *other*. And the consensus is that France is bleeding white, and will fast keep on, unless such a government is formed without much further delay. That's why De Gaulle's stock is at this moment high among "those in the know".

* * *

But Dulles Is (Somewhere) In His Heaven . . .

Europe's question of the month: How many more slaps in his face can Dr. Adenauer survive? Any government weaker than his would have tumbled under the impact of the latest folly of the Eisenhower Administration: The statement Dulles gave on March 12, in Manila, according to which the United States will no longer insist that a Summit Conference must put German reunification on its prepared agenda. This Dulles statement was followed by a joint declaration by the Foreign Ministers of the United States, France, and England, gathered at Manila, who expressed their governments' willingness to attend a Summit Conference, even if only one subject were to be hopefully discussed there—

namely, "disarmament".

This was not merely an about-face of the Eisenhower Administration which, for the last several months, had insisted that no United States talks with the Soviet Union were admissible without an agreement on some kind of progress towards German reunification. And it wasn't merely a blunder either. This incredible Manila statement may have been a death blow to Adenauer's policies in Germany, to Germany's prolonged membership in NATO and, therefore, to the total defense establishment in Europe.

And All's Left With The World . . .

Two days after the fatal Manila declaration, Dr. Adenauer announced most pointedly that he must yield to the Anglo-Franco-American reconsideration of a previously self-understood attitude with regard to the German problem; and that he will make no difficulties. But Dr. Adenauer did not even try to hide that he, quite correctly, felt himself and the German government downright betrayed. And there are already symptoms that his firm NATO policy is falling apart and that Germany, rather than be left in the lurch, may start some fast negotiations with the Kremlin on its own.

Perhaps it all can be fixed again, at least for a while. But what will remain, no matter how subtly and successfully Mr. Dulles may mend the damage, is the chilling horror in European Chancelleries: That the United States can be so easily driven into abandoning firm policies just to satisfy its Allies' clamor for a Summit Conference. I am afraid the Manila statement, scarcely noticed in the United States press, will be long remembered abroad as one of Mr. Dulles' major blunders.

THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

by

J. B. MATTHEWS

In June, 1948, WHO's governing body, the World Health Assembly, met for the first time. WHO will, therefore, celebrate its tenth anniversary this year at a special session of the World Health Assembly, to be held in Minneapolis, beginning May 26.

It would seem unkind of us not to join in the celebration. In the following "anniversary article", therefore, Dr. Matthews takes a look at some of the personalities, purposes, and propaganda of this particular ring in the one-world circus. The show is well worth seeing, and we invite you to a ringside seat.

IF, A FEW YEARS AGO, you happened to notice some rather British-looking and well-dressed men—decidedly not in workmen's clothes—poking around in your city's sidewalk garbage pails, you could not have been blamed for being more than ordinarily curious. If curiosity had led you to make inquiries, suspecting perhaps that the men were escapers from a psychiatric ward, you might have been astonished to learn that they were representatives of the newly formed World Health Organization, a United Nations specialized agency which has now come to be popularly known by its initials WHO.

It really happened. A team of WHO investigators from Great Britain came to the United States in the fall of 1949 to make an investigation of American garbage pails and dump heaps. The investigators visited some twenty cities and counties on their tour of our garbage cans. They were frankly amazed at what they found and, in a seventeen-page report, told a world which waits breathlessly for United States leadership that our garbage cans generally were "dilapidated and nearly all

were uncovered, yet they were kept near to dwellings and placed on public streets to facilitate the work of the refuse collectors!"

As could have been easily predicted, the seventeen-page WHO report recommended government ownership and maintenance of garbage cans.

It is not of record that a single liberal voice was raised against this infringement of our democratic rights by WHO. The WHO report on our system of garbage disposal made no mention of those unique American institutions: municipal graft and gangster unionism. Respecting our democratic right to deal with our grafters, microbes, and mobsters in our own way, the WHO report denied us the equally democratic right to be dirty. WHO would have been operating within its charter rights if it had turned our case over to UNEPTAUC (United Nations Expanded Program for Technical Assistance to Underdeveloped Countries).

Whence WHO? . . .

The World Health Organization had

The World Health Organization

its origin at the San Francisco Conference which set up the United Nations in April, 1945. The conference approved a joint proposal from Brazil and China that an international health organization should be established.

In June, 1946, the United Nations summoned a conference at which the Constitution of the World Health Organization was adopted and signed by representatives from sixty-one countries. The Interim Commission of WHO was established at this time.

When UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) was terminated in 1946, it had an unexpended balance of three million dollars which was turned over to the Interim Commission of WHO.

On April 7, 1948, the last of the required twenty-six member states ratified its signature to WHO's Constitution and the document came into force.

A Magna Carta For Global Meddling . . .

WHO's Constitution opens with a statement that nine "principles are basic to the happiness, harmonious relations and security of all peoples." They are listed as follows:

Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.

The enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic or social condition.

The health of all peoples is fundamental to the attainment of peace and security and is dependent upon the fullest co-operation of individuals and States.

The achievement of any State in the promotion and protection of health is of value to all.

Unequal development in different countries in the promotion of health and control of disease, especially communicable disease, is a common danger.

Healthy development of the child is of basic importance; the ability to live harmoniously in a changing total environment is essential to such development.

The extension to all peoples of the benefits of medical, psychological and related knowledge is essential to the fullest attainment of health.

Informed opinion and active co-operation on the part of the public are of the utmost importance in the improvement of the health of the people.

Governments have a responsibility for the health of their peoples which can be fulfilled only by the provision of adequate health and social measures.

Before commenting on the extraordinary nature of this set of basic principles, it will be pertinent to call attention to a booklet of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace which praised the World Health Organization. Published on the eve of the formal launching of WHO, this booklet's preface, written by none other than Mr. Alger Hiss, contained the following statement: "The new specialized agency carries on one of the most successful parts of the work of the League of Nations. The Constitution of the World Health Organization, however, has a far wider basis than that established for the League organization, and embodies in its provisions the broadest principles in public health service to-

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day. Defining health as 'a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity', it includes not only the more conventional fields of activity but also mental health, housing, nutrition, economic or working conditions, and administrative and social techniques affecting public health."

It would be difficult to imagine any area of human thought or activity—private or public, individual or collective—not covered by the definition of health set forth in WHO's Constitution. It could only have been dreamed up by a deranged mind bent on establishing a new and terrible tyranny over the lives of men. It is, indeed, a magna carta for unrestricted and global meddling; a limitless grant of power to investigate and legislate on everything from garbage cans to the effects of religion on the mental health of Moslems, Buddhists, Bahaists, Shintoists, Theosophists, and Christians, respectively.

Defining health as "complete physical, mental and social well-being", WHO could take upon itself the business of passing judgment upon the art of effective letter writing in social intercourse, the dangers of bob-sledding, how to pack picnic lunches, flower arrangements, pitching horse shoes, the relative merits of philately and numismatics as a hobby for presidents, and a hundred thousand other activities of the human animal.

Dramatis Personae . . .

Writing enthusiastically of the definition of health in WHO's Constitution, Professor Charles-Edward A. Winslow of Yale said, "It would be difficult to imagine a broader Charter." Professor Winslow might have said "impossible"

instead of "difficult". Among his many Communist connections, Professor Winslow was an honorary vice-chairman of the American Soviet Science Society, a national sponsor of the American League for Peace and Democracy, a speaker for the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and a sponsor of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Brock Chisholm, about whom much will be said later, wrote as follows: "History is studded with critical dates—wars, invasions, revolutions, discoveries, peace treaties—that are firmly implanted in our minds . . . This document [WHO's Constitution] may well go down in history as one of the most far-reaching of all international agreements . . . The World Health Organization is a positive creative force with broad objectives, reaching forward to embrace nearly all levels of human activity."

Dr. Milton I. Roemer, chief of WHO's Social and Occupational Health Section, says that "to achieve their proper objective of contributing to positive health, sports must be engaged in by the average citizen." Contrary to this "must" of a high official of WHO, the dictates of civil liberty must leave the average citizen absolutely free to decide for himself whether to engage in sports or not to engage in sports. Dr. Roemer is currently a member of the advisory board of The Ernst P. Boas Memorial Fund, on which the late Communist, Bernhard J. Stern, was a fellow member, as are the veteran Communist fronters, Dr. Allan M. Butler, Dr. George D. Cannon, and Albert Deutsch.

In his annual report last year, the Director-General of WHO came up with the remarkably interesting ob-

servation that "there is no clear demarcation between health and sickness." As will appear later, there is a solid basis in WHO's philosophy and practice for every human being to conclude that he is not only sick but also crazy.

Meddling Is A Must . . .

In at least one publicized case, WHO officially declared that eighty-five percent of the population of a certain country was suffering from yaws, a contagious disease of the skin known medically as frambesia. When the government of Haiti replied that yaws had been completely stamped out through an eight-year campaign, WHO acknowledged its error. Which leads one to wonder how many of WHO's facts are compiled from outdated reports or sheer imagination by desk bureaucrats in WHO's Geneva headquarters.

A study group composed of eleven "psychiatrists and scientific authorities", which convened in Geneva last November under the auspices of WHO, deplored the free and public discussion among scientists of questions which are controversial. "The publicizing of disagreements and contradictions among scientists, for example, about polio vaccine, or the cancer-producing effects of tobacco," said the WHO committee, has contributed to public mistrust of scientists and has caused science to lose "the infallibility with which it was credited in the nineteenth century." The WHO study group ignores the fact that the free discussion of differences has been a major factor in the progress of science through the centuries. But WHO apparently proposes to be a world authoritarian and totalitarian agency to hand down the scientific truth. A shining example of "liberal" aspirations for suppression of the free-

dom of the press!

Early in its existence, WHO found that its secretariat had picked up a hot potato in the form of advising Member States on the subject of birth control. At the 1952 World Health Assembly, delegates from strongly Roman Catholic countries expressed opposition to action by WHO in the field of birth control. Discussion ended without a vote, in the "interests of harmony"; but secretariat officials said they did not consider themselves bound by the views of the Catholic delegates.

And Power Insidiously Planned . . .

The pro-Communist Physicians Forum, founded by the veteran Communist fronter Ernst Boas, liked WHO's definition of health so much that it printed that section of WHO's Constitution on the cover of its monthly magazine for several years. Underneath the copy of WHO's definition of health, the Physicians Forum magazine says: "The Forum endorses these standards of the World Health Organization . . ."

The powers of the World Health Assembly, as set forth in Chapter IV of WHO's Constitution, were shrewdly defined. In Article 19, we read: "The Health Assembly shall have authority to adopt conventions or agreements with respect to any matter within the competence of the Organization." As we have seen, there is no matter which is *not* within the competence of WHO.

In Article 20, we read: "Each Member [State] undertakes that it will, within eighteen months after the adoption by the Health Assembly of a convention or agreement, take action relative to the acceptance of such convention or agreement. Each Member shall notify the Director-General of the action taken, and if it does not accept such convention

or agreement within the time limit, it will furnish a statement of the reasons for non-acceptance." The power of enforcement of the Health Assembly's decisions lies in the stigma of non-compliance on the part of a Member State.

Dr. Brock Chisholm, who had more than anyone else to do with the writing of WHO's Constitution, has explained that the aforementioned provisions of Chapter IV incorporated a "new principle of international law" by circumventing the usual procedures for the ratification of international conventions or agreements. The Member States, in ratifying WHO's Constitution at the beginning of their membership in the organization, signed a blank check to be bound by such regulations as should be adopted by the World Health Assembly in the future *unless* they formally notified the Director-General of non-compliance. "The long, slow, and usually never completed process of ratification by each government of an international convention is thus avoided," says Dr. Chisholm.

At the 1955 meeting of the World Health Assembly, the United States lost its bid for a reduced financial assessment in WHO, despite an energetic plea by the chief United States delegate. The vote was forty-three to two against the United States, which was thereupon required to contribute thirty-seven percent of the total WHO budget, although there are now eighty-eight Member States. American taxpayers should be interested to know that a world legislative body has the authority to levy taxes upon them as it sees fit.

II

Chisholm of WHO . . .

THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION was placed in orbit in June, 1948. As

will be shown later, it is powered by the solid fuel of United States dollars.

At the formal launching of WHO, Brock Chisholm was elected Director-General of the organization. The new and revolutionary definition of health with which the WHO Constitution opens is the work of Dr. Chisholm, according to one of his assistants. "From its inception this agency has borne the impress of this man's personality and skills," writes Professor Charles S. Ascher, chairman of the department of political science at Brooklyn College and formerly a member of the staffs of UNESCO and WHO. Professor Ascher published an adulatory biographical sketch of Brock Chisholm in *The Survey* of February, 1952.

Parenthetically, and to indicate the type of ideologist which heaps praise upon Dr. Chisholm, a reference to the views of Professor Charles S. Ascher may be instructive. When the American Civil Liberties Union took action to remove known members of the Communist Party from its staff and governing committees, Professor Ascher joined with a group of Communists and pro-Communists in denouncing the ACLU as "a fellow traveler of the Dies Committee". Associated with Professor Ascher in this attack upon the ACLU were Communists John T. Bernard, Howard Costigan, and Theodore Dreiser.

Another well-known leftwinger, Mr. Abe Fortas, formerly Under Secretary of the Interior, also thinks highly of Brock Chisholm. Professor Ascher reported that Mr. Fortas, on hearing the future Director-General of WHO deliver a sweeping attack on morality, exclaimed: "He [Chisholm] not only pleads for mature men and women, but the nature of his plea discloses that he

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himself is that extraordinary creature—a man of maturity.”

To know what Mr. Fortas meant by “a man of maturity”, a passage from Dr. Chisholm’s lecture to which Mr. Fortas had just listened is enlightening. (The indicated deletions in these remarks of Chisholm on morality were made by Professor Ascher.) “The basic psychological distortion . . . in every civilization of which we know anything . . . capable of producing these perversions,” said Dr. Chisholm, “is morality . . . the concept . . . of good and evil with which to keep children under control, with which to prevent free thinking, with which to impose . . . loyalties.”

Who Is This Hero Of WHO? . . .

Brock Chisholm is a sixty-two-year old Canadian M. D. He served with the Canadian Army in World War I. He advanced to the rank of major general in World War II and was deputy adjutant general of the Canadian forces. From 1946 to 1948, he was chairman of the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization.

To understand the nature and objectives of WHO completely, it is necessary to take an extended look at the views of the man who is alleged to have left the impress of his “personality and skills” upon this UN specialized agency from its inception—the man who charges that *morality* is a device and a psychological distortion with which “to keep children under control”, “to prevent free thinking”, and “to impose loyalties.”

It should be borne in mind that his extraordinary views on morality were publicly expressed by Brock Chisholm in his William Alanson White Memorial Lecture in October, 1945, three years

before he was elected Director-General of WHO.

Since his retirement as Director-General of WHO in 1953, Brock Chisholm has been elected president of the World Federation for Mental Health, a position which he still holds. Inasmuch as the World Federation for Mental Health is one of the “non-governmental organizations in official relations with WHO”, Dr. Chisholm still has an influential status in the UN agency.

Addressing the tenth annual meeting of the World Federation for Mental Health at Copenhagen in August, 1957, Dr. Chisholm gave expression to some remarkably iconoclastic views. In different words, he reiterated his thoughts on morality as expressed in his William Alanson White Memorial Lecture. He declared that “loyalty to the ideas or attitudes or beliefs into which we happen to be born” is antiquated.

The Oneworlder Par Excellence . . .

As the full context makes clear, Dr. Chisholm gave voice to the authentic oneworldism, as follows: “We need to grow up in order to be able to make the changes that are needed, or at least to start our children on the course of making them; and there is still a very long way to go. Legislation is not going to do it. Conformity to the rules of the past is not going to do it. Loyalty to the ideas or attitudes or beliefs into which we happen to be born, is not going to do it. None of the great problems of the world is going to be solved from inside any one culture, because from inside any one culture it is not possible to see world problems truly.”

The oneworlders are at war with cultural pluralism. With Dr. Chisholm, (Continued on page 31)

A Review of the News

by

HUBERT KREGELOH

In March, 1958 . . .

→ Pope Pius XII appointed Samuel Cardinal Stritch, Roman-Catholic Archbishop of Chicago, pro-prefect of the Church’s Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Cardinal Stritch, whose duties will be at the Vatican, is the first American to become a member of the Curia of the Church of Rome.

→ The Kremlin continued to press for another “summit” meeting. Anti-Communists feared that the Administration, while “playing coy,” had already decided to agree substantially on Soviet terms and that the forthcoming parley might prove to be the most disastrous yet for the free world. Furthermore, as the gradual surrender to Soviet demands continued, the Washington Administration hinted it might move closer to Moscow’s position in the matter of disarmament “if certain conditions were met.” Capitol observers saw the influence of the retired “disarmament adviser”, Harold Stassen.

→ At Cape Canaveral, Florida, the U.S. Army launched a second three-pound earth satellite—identical to “Explorer I,” fired on January 31 (See March issue of American Opinion). “Explorer II,” however, failed to orbit and was lost. But on March 26, in another attempt and again using the JUPITER-C rocket, the Army succeeded in placing “Explorer III” into orbit, although it was announced that it had not got off perfectly and would not stay in outer space long. In the meantime the Navy, after failures since December, 1957, finally succeeded (on March 17) in firing its

VANGUARD rocket successfully and put a tiny (3 and 1/4 pound) baby satellite into orbit. Thus, at the end of March, there were four (known) satellites in outer space—three American, and the dog-carrying Soviet “Sputnik II,” the first “Sputnik” having burned itself out on January 4.

→ After “hijacking” an American-piloted South Korean airliner in February, the North Korean Communists shot down an American jet fighter plane near their border. Some analysts speculated that the Reds might be testing United States determination to resist provocations.

→ Washington announced that in mid-February unemployment in the United States had reached a sixteen-year record with 5,703,000. Both the GOP “defendants” and the Democratic “prosecutors” engaged in much contradictory oratory about the business downturn. Many of the proposed recession “cures” would in effect cancel each other out, and sober minds questioned anyway that a depression can be “legislated” out of existence. Meanwhile, in the midst of the recession, it was announced that the cost of living rose another two-tenths of one per cent in February to an all-time high.

→ As the United States offered to share military science secrets with NATO allies, critical observers pointed out that some of these “allies” have so many Communists in key posts that we might just as well offer to share these secrets with Khrushchev & Company directly.

A Review of the News

→ At the conference of SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organization) in Manila, Pakistan spearheaded a blunt demand for more United States economic aid as the implied price for resisting Soviet blandishments.

→ The House Committee on Un-American Activities conducted a week-long probe in Boston and, with the help of two F.B.I. undercover agents and many recalcitrant witnesses, established that Communists remain dangerously active in New England.

→ Although the situation was not quite clear at the end of March, it looked as if King Saud of Saudi Arabia, recipient of considerable United States economic and military aid, had been ousted from power by his anti-Western and pro-Egyptian brother, Crown Prince Feisal. American petroleum and other strategic investments in Saudi Arabia are formidable.

→ The five-weeks Senate investigation of the violent strike by the United Auto Workers against the Kohler Company of Kohler, Wisconsin, was terminated. It was characterized by new attacks on loyal Kohler workers in Wisconsin, and by angry exchanges in Washington between the U.A.W. chief, Walter Reuther, and Republican Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona; also by a brilliant display of histrionics on the part of Reuther. He denied all responsibility for violence at Kohler, which he blamed on the company, and denounced the entire investigation as a "Republican plot" to "destroy" him and his union.

→ In a major Kremlin shake-up Premier Bulganin was ousted by Party boss Nikita Khrushchev, who was "elected" to the premier post by the Supreme Soviet. General impression was that

Khrushchev now seeks Stalin-style dictatorial powers.

→ In connection with developments in the Kremlin, the following interesting sequence of events was noted: As the Kremlin stepped up its propaganda for the halting of H-bomb tests (after itself just having concluded a series of major tests) some of our most "controversial" scientists—including Dr. Linus Pauling of the California Institute of Technology and Dr. Edward Condon, former chief of the U.S. Bureau of Standards—unleashed a scare campaign in support of the Moscow objective. Condon predicted that many thousands will die of bone cancer and leukemia as a result of the nuclear tests. On the last day of the month, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko announced that Moscow will halt all further nuclear tests "unilaterally." While the propaganda value of this gesture was obviously great, informed Western experts could immediately point to the hidden "jokers" and traps. By a strange coincidence, CBS-TV carried a nuclear test scare program the day before Gromyko's announcement, and from New Haven, Conn. and Philadelphia, Penn., groups of "peace fighters" started to walk to New York City to petition the United Nations to halt nuclear tests through international agreement. By another coincidence, all this preceded the United States nuclear tests in the Pacific scheduled for April.

→ On the last day of the month, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker's Conservatives won the most decisive federal election victory in Canada's history. Incomplete returns showed that the Conservatives would have over 200 seats, in the 265-member House of Commons, and were assured of four years in office.

HOW TO READ THE FEDERALIST

by

HOLMES ALEXANDER

This is the second in a series of twelve essays by Mr. Alexander on the Federalist Papers. They will all appear serially in this magazine.

II

PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS is one of the "unalienable rights" listed in the Declaration of Independence—but what does it mean?

It is a poetic phrase, a little vague but rather beautiful and certainly unforgettable. It seems to have rolled off the Signers' pen without ado. They were supremely confident about their beliefs. They spoke of "self-evident" truths. They wrapped up "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" in a single package. The first two of these three are readily understandable. Life is substantial, and liberty is easily defined and illustrated. But today, although we hear quite a bit of humbug about "human rights", we have to hesitate, meditate, even speculate, over the meaning of three little words that have been familiar to us all since childhood. "Pursuit of happiness — ?"

The Signers would have been better understood today if they had frankly called it—pursuit of money. The phrase is a gross over-simplification, and the evil-minded would misunderstand it, but that can hardly be helped. The same people who regard "pursuit of happiness" as meaning the unlicensed chase of sensual gratification would take "pursuit of money" to mean get-rich-quick and never mind how. We come closer to the true meaning of the phrase if we examine this fragment from *The Federalist No. 44*, in which Madison wrote:

"... laws impairing the obligation of contracts are contrary to the first principles of the social compact, and to every

principle of sound legislation . . . Very properly there have the (Constitutional) convention (members) added this constitutional bulwark in favor of personal security and private rights . . ."

Property, then, and the obligation of contracts, are things safe-guarded in the American Constitution on the same basis that life and liberty are safeguarded. Money, or property, is not a spiritual value; but the right to earn and keep it was so regarded by the Founding Fathers. The men who drew the Constitution were clearly thinking of private enterprise when they asserted the right to pursue happiness. It is the right to choose a profession, a career, or a business, and to make the most of it within the limits of decency.

It seems strange that in our day we find it difficult to understand what our forefathers were talking about. Why did they say "happiness" if they meant freedom-of-enterprise? Well, to Early Americans happiness and property were not at opposite ends of the spectrum. It is true that happiness, now and then, connotes spirituality. It is tranquility, harmony, a satisfaction that comes from honest accomplishment — and the physical aspect of accomplishment is the ownership of something to show for it. The bridge that connects the sense of hope with the realization of achievement is easily perceivable.

Still, it all requires some rather belated explanation. It would be much better if we had instant, instinctive understanding of these traditional phrases which Americans now have lived by for many generations. Somehow we Twentieth Century Americans have acquired a sense of guilt which makes us unwilling to admit that happiness and successful enterprise may be closely related. For fully a quarter-century, our businessman has been depicted as a Babbitt of dense stupidity and total lack of culture. Our American visitor to Europe, unless he happens to be bringing military or financial aid to foreigners, is still held up as a social barbarian. The interpretative writers who dominate our daily newspapers still commence

with the assumption that Americans, being relatively rich, are therefore lacking in sympathy and understanding concerning the rest of the world.

None of this should be regarded as entirely accidental. A confusion has been planted in our minds until our children grow up and come out of college with a conviction that to be American is slightly shameful. A conspiracy has been subtly operating. It is a plot of tear-down, level-out, share-the-wealth. It runs through our educational systems, our public information, and our political expressions. It seems to say that private wealth is spawned in wickedness and — since it cannot bring happiness to the person who earned and owns it — should be distributed by the Federal Government for public welfare, at home and abroad. And if the earner-owner happens to be a corporate person, representing thousands of stockholders, then the Congress is called upon to divest the corporation of its holdings and even of its occupation. By mid-Twentieth Century practically every phase of private enterprise in the nation has been forced to fight for its life against the bust-business socializers.

Such plots, conspiracies and misrepresentations could not survive if Americans still understood, and stood up for, the first principles of Constitutional Americanism. And the lack of understanding has befogged our outlook upon life with guilt and self-reproach. Gradually, we have permitted the good and true meaning of American folktalk to be obscured and dirtied. Consider, for example, the lexicon of the Welfare State. Home has become housing. Health is now a legislative term denoting rump injections and free false teeth. Education is measured in classroom units. Labor no longer means either childbirth or honest toil, but a mass of faceless workers giving the fist salute to a leader on a balcony.

Let nobody think that America is not the poorer for all this. Our spiritual values have been carnalized. The yearnings of men to succeed have been re-characterized into political demands for the greed and gluttony of utopian materi-

alism. The dream of what the Founders called "happiness" is now supposed to mean a tossing nightmare of the greasy spoon and huddled collectiveness, called security.

In the face of all this, it might have been better if the Founders had been more flat-footed in relating happiness and private property. The men responsible for the Declaration and Constitution were nothing if not practical about their worldly affairs. It is characteristic of them that in their desperate rebellion, they pledged "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor." The Founders knew that there is no reasonable way to separate such things. They knew that there is a moral unity in "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Perhaps it is not too late for America to recover this understanding of life. We need leaders to say often and publicly that money and happiness, like body and soul, have a natural affinity. When these ideas are violently separated, or maliciously alienated, the American people suffer. Even if the body would benefit in a Welfare State, which is debatable, the soul would certainly perish. Take away a man's right to earn and keep his property, and he soon loses much of his manhood.

The right-of-enterprise belongs high on any list of freedoms. It asserts a man's right to seek his chosen mate, to build a dwelling for his family, protect and improve his community by restrictive covenants if they serve the purpose, to gather an estate and pass it along to children and grandchildren — these being all that a man ever sees of Life Everlasting.

The quest, in this sense, for happiness is more precious to most men than life and even liberty, although in practice they are inseparable. Indeed, to say that a man works for "money" is really to say that he works to achieve a host of admirable and desirable things. Among them are home, family, permanence, tranquility, satisfaction, cleanliness, privacy, initiative and individualism. The propertied man can expect a measure of all these things, and the man without property cannot.

Property is one of those "unalienable rights" which no

Government can rightly take from the American people. It seems incredible, then, that Americans after two World Wars for human rights have come to consent to such things as:

1. Confiscation of private property by Federal competition in the field of business; Federal taxation above seventy-five percent upon income and inheritance; Federal control by repeated "emergency legislation" over wages, prices, rents and interest rates; Federal encroachments in the fields of Labor contracts and public education.

2. Dissipation of American wealth and military strength by transfer of many billions of dollars' worth of goods abroad; annual taxing of American citizens and corporations to support foreign nations; continuance and proliferation of entangling alliances; meddlesome policies which in effect transfer the right to declare war from the American Congress to ministers and politicians of foreign lands.

3. Destruction of the American character by political inducement of self-pity and unreliance; by perverted courtship of minority groups and hard-luck persons; by masochistic and slow-poison tear-down of the United States of America through unfavorable comparison with dependent countries; by fraudulent hysterics over alleged "persecutions" of spies and traitors which are in plain fact no more than national acts of self-preservation.

Against all these abuses, there is remedy. The wrongs can be righted by aroused, indignant and activated citizens' groups at the grass roots. These groups are not called upon to revolt by force of arms — merely to unite in political action. If it should happen that people in all States recaptured their political parties from the Share America cliques, that would be a beginning. The recovery of our lost freedoms would follow like the rise of the morning sun.

One businessman to another: "I wanted my son to share in the business, but the Government beat him to it."

BULLETS

The Moving Finger writes; and, hav-
ing writ,
Moves on; nor all your Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half
a Line
Nor all your Tears wash out a Word
of it.

Omar

Remember the good old days when
charity was a virtue instead of an in-
dustry?

Josh Jenkins

There must be an easier way to make
a living than by being Secretary of
Agriculture.

Ezra Taft Benson

The years teach much which the days
never know.

Ralph Waldo Emerson

The shortest distance between two
points is to run like hell.

Some Eager Beaver

Before marriage a man yearns for a
woman. After marriage the "y" is silent.

And So Is He

We go by the major vote, and if the
majority are insane, the sane must go
to the hospital.

Horace Mann

The true danger is, when liberty is
nibbled away, for expedients, and by
parts.

Edmund Burke

She means well, but she doesn't mean
much.

By Whom — We Don't Know
About Whom — We Could Guess

A good listener is not only popular
everywhere, but after a while he knows
something.

Wilson Mizner

What is mind? No matter. What is
matter? Never mind.

T. H. Key

I have no doubt that most of Russia's
recent triumphs have been produced on
American typewriters.

Medford Evans,
In National Review

It never troubles the wolf how many
the sheep may be.

Virgil

The chief justice was rich, quiet, and
infamous.

Thomas Babington Macaulay
(On Warren Hastings)

Saying Peace, peace; when there is
no peace.

Jeremiah VI, 14

Americans have come to believe that
it's easier to vote for something they
want than to work for it.

H. C. Diefenbach

A fool must now and then be right
by chance.

William Cowper

You don't have to be a cannibal to
get fed up with people.

Especially With Scientists
Who Sign Petitions

Even such is Time, that takes in trust
Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
And pays us but with earth and dust;
Who in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wander'd all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days;
But from this earth, this grave,

this dust,

My God shall raise me up, I trust.

Sir Walter Raleigh, In Prison,
The Night Before He Was Executed.

NEGRO AMERICANS BACK TO AFRICA?

by

CLENNON KING

We have stated repeatedly in this magazine our belief that the trouble in the South over integration is Communist contrived; that Communist agents, working largely behind the scenes, are using every trick and skill in the Communist repertory to foment bitterness between black and white members of communities where no bitterness existed before; and that the Communists thoroughly intend to fan and coalesce small flames of "civil disorder" into the conflagration of civil war if possible.

Under the disturbing and difficult conditions which the Communists have brought about, one of the most heartening developments has been the good sense, good will, and sound patriotism of many of the responsible Negro leaders in the South. Outstanding among these leaders has been Clennon King, Professor of History at Alcorn (all-Negro) College, Alcorn, Mississippi, whose wise and courageous articles in various southern papers have been widely quoted.

But Professor King makes no bones about his feeling that the racial problem is very real. And he is an ardent advocate of the immigration of Negro Americans to Africa, for the good it can do on both sides of the Atlantic. We are glad to present his thoughts, in the following brief article which he prepared for us on his favorite subject.

A FACT: Christianity is losing in world influence.

Another fact: The race problem in America remains to be solved, and is now as sore as ever.

A further fact: Negro Americans are Americans first, but—no matter how reluctantly—Africans, too.

I have a theory that these three separate facts are not so separate.

The Harmful Publicity . . .

Suppose the United States would or could say to the world: "There is no American race problem!" It would be a

huge help to the beginning of a better era in international relations. But the United States cannot say this, *because Negroes would not go along.*

Why won't we go along? It is a good question, without any easy answer.

American Jewry certainly does *not* promote either public or foreign notions that America is a land of anti-Semitism. There actually is some anti-Semitism in America, of course. But Jewish Americans know that such lurid publicity would only make matters worse for America, and for themselves.

Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, and South-European Americans are discriminated against. But they do not promote loud-mouthed wailing on their behalf, either. These people know that their American advantages far exceed anything to the contrary.

But travel abroad, for me, has more than once been interrupted by the embarrassing "sympathies for the Negro" of some naive foreigner. Other Negro Americans traveling abroad have expressed similar feelings of discomfort. Only a dishonest or childish person likes to be pitied for false or exaggerated reasons. From an American standpoint, I commonly found the people visited much more to be pitied than my own.

A Negro ex-Communist who had been living in Russia for many years returned home a few months ago, and had this to say, in the March issue of *Ebony*: "In the search for (civil) rights I foolishly moved to Russia . . . I believed then that the black man's future lay in this Soviet 'promised land', that he would never achieve freedom and equal status in these United States no matter how long or how stubbornly he fought to do so. But I was wrong." Now, twenty-five years after leaving America, he has discovered that the moral and political values he sought were at home all along, and in superior degree. He apologizes, and promises that he has returned "a better and more convinced citizen."

We Negro Americans are one of the most fortunate races on earth. Our opportunities are definitely superior to those

of any other colored race in the world. Yet we too often express ourselves with strange cynicism. The prominent Negro American personality who, not long ago, petulantly exclaimed "the (United States) Government can go to hell," cannot help but be sorry. The damage is done, however, and other damage from other sources continues to be done.

NAACP, with all of its brain, has sought to go before the United Nations, to air globally the grievances of Negro Americans. The "dean of Negro thought," Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, renewed this request as recently as last fall. American racial incidents are purposely created, in order to give this country derogatory world-wide publicity—and to shame her into bowing to the aims and wills of private organizations.

It is no wonder that Christianity loses influence! The United States of America, the leading Christian nation, is indicted before the world by its own citizens as guilty of humanity's most unChristian offense: the lack of brotherhood.

Against the Objective Facts . . .

America has racial adjustments to make, of course, as *all* nations do—even the nations where all of the people are of the same color. Judged by pragmatic world standards, however, America actually looms as an outstanding example of superior inter-group relations.

No sincere spokesman expects America to be perfect. But we Negro Americans know that she is capable of advance in that direction. The problems that arise do not normally stagnate and putrify; they enter the process of favorable solution. The American way is the way of hope, and we know it.

What we too often do not know is that the minority peoples in other lands do not share as great a hope as our own. And far too little known is the truth that we, as a part of the world's colored races, have found something of great value here in Christian America; something which the world as a whole, and our African brothers in particular, can share through us. Dedicated Negro Americans must be encouraged

to see themselves in perspective, from afar; and also to see the great need for what they can offer in the world outside.

II

FOR ONE THING, Negro Americans who seriously say that they want to go to Africa to live should be helped to go. This should become a part of America's foreign policy. The prolonged meeting of the skeptical African and the adventurous Christian Negro American, in Africa, would heal a lot of wounds on two continents.

Because I believe this, and because United States Government help—despite the Langer African Migration Bill (S.759) currently before Congress—does not seem to be forthcoming, I am in the process of organizing an expedition to explore inexpensive means of launching a limited African migration project.

The fundamental difficulty in establishing cells of dedicated Negro American communities in Africa is not one of finding the Negro Americans desiring to participate. It is in finding sufficiently inexpensive means of travel. Seven hundred dollars or better per passenger is the average cost of a one-way trip from America to Africa. For a family this could easily run into several thousand dollars. This means hard cash money. It does not count the money one would need with which to "get started." If the trans-Atlantic passenger fares could be coped with more readily, the "get started" money would be far less a problem.

A Lesson From the Past . . .

Columbus himself could not have made it to America, even with Queen Isabella's help, if oceanic travel costs had then run into such big money. And the difference today is not due just to far greater labor costs. A critical part of the difference is caused by the basic change in the very *mode* of transportation; specifically, in the abandonment of sail for faster means. Before the last century the principal method of

inter-continental travel was by sailing ship. Expensive fuels, high vehicle maintenance costs, and travel luxuries were unknown for long voyages. An adventurous spirit was an absolute necessity for travelers of an earlier day. And there is no fundamental reason why, for a sufficiently earnest purpose, an adventurous spirit cannot substitute for a lot of travel luxuries today. A synthesis of the old and the new can bring about considerable savings on the trans-Atlantic passage—and offer reasonable comfort, safety, and speed at the same time.

There is no reason why Negro Americans, who *really* want to consecrate their lives to helping to develop a Negro Christian civilization in Africa, must have the luxuries and speed of modern ocean travel in order to get across. With a sailing yacht of moderate size, say fifty to one hundred feet (Columbus' favorite ship, the *Nina*, was only seventy feet long!), I hope to see the beginnings of low-cost African American migration take place. This service would be in the reach of all Negro Americans who sincerely want to make their own effective contribution to the great inter-group problems of our times.

III

It is now 339 years since August, 1619, when the *Jesus*, a Dutch "man of warre", landed twenty Negroes at Jamestown, Virginia. After the Revolutionary War ended in 1783, the number of Negro freemen in America multiplied by leaps and bounds. Some of these Africans, as they were then called, after having acquired some measure of wealth and a new faith in human dignity, sought to use this power for the benefit of their fellow men. Among the most interesting of the period were Paul Cuffe, a rich New England trader, and Lott Cary, the well-to-do pastor of the African Baptist Church in Richmond, Virginia.

Pioneers Eastward . . .

Captain Paul Cuffe was owner of the 109-ton brig, *Traveller*. At his own expense he sailed from Philadelphia to

Negro Americans Back To Africa?

Africa in 1811 and again in 1815. On the second trip he carried thirty-eight freemen as settlers, and returned for a third voyage. But with so little government cooperation forthcoming, he turned his attention to helping to found the American Colonization Society (1816). He died in 1817, happy in the realization that his life had inspired a new era of freedom in Africa. In 1819 Congress passed an enabling act for the establishment of Liberia.

Reverend Lott Cary gave up his home and the leading Negro pastorate in America to see that the great Christian experiment in Liberia did not fail. In 1821 he sailed for Africa from Norfolk on the schooner *Nautilus*, with his wife, his two children, and twenty-eight other migrants. They reached Liberia, by way of Sierra Leone, in 1822. "The redemption of Africa" was begun.

Today a Welcome Is Waiting . . .

One hundred and thirty-four years later, President W. V. S. Tubman of Liberia, in his inaugural address, has this to say about his desire for Negro Americans to come to his country today:

"It is the policy of the Government to encourage such (desirable) immigrants. The National Legislature has enacted the following arrangements . . . Three months' free lodging at the Government's expense will be arranged for immigrants . . . A single immigrant will be allocated ten acres of land free of cost and each family will receive twenty-five acres . . ."

President Tubman is one of the surest friends that America has in Africa. He is of American descent, and a Christian. May his tribe increase. Independent Negro Americans like Captain Cuffe and the Reverend Cary stimulated private citizens of this nation into a realization of their obligations and opportunities in Africa, over a century ago. I believe it is time once more to be following their example.

We Pause To Remark . . .

We agree with Mr. Fletcher Knebel, in the relief expressed in his column, Potomac Fever, that there is no danger of Sherman Adams running for President in 1960. As Mr. Knebel points out, the Constitution forbids a third term.

* * *

Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, in a plea for "coexistence", is quoted as having said that he "did not see why the leaders of Soviet Russia could not be trusted." That one is easy. The reason why we do not trust the Soviet leaders' good faith is exactly the same reason why we do not trust Senator Ellender's good judgment: past experience.

* * *

Would you like to walk on water? You can now buy "water shoes", made of blocks of styrofoam, to be attached to the feet like skis. What we want to see is a hundred-yard dash—preferably on the Potomac River—between participants wearing those things. Perle Mesta and Elsa Maxwell, for instance.

* * *

"A South American business center now under construction," so a recent news item tells us, "will be in the form of an ascending spiral. It will cover twenty-five acres and be 365 feet high. Access will be by ramp." So we have at last achieved the *ziggurats* of the Babylonians. Also, there is hardly any doubt that, behind the Iron Curtain, at least, we have now caught up to the Assyrians in cruelty. Maybe in another few decades or centuries we can have a sound hard currency, such as the Lydians had.

* * *

Life is so complicated. One thing

leads to another. This is a most inconsiderate arrangement, on the part of Providence, that we think the "planners" should do something about. We are indebted to Mr. Louis Ruthenburg for the story of the state legislator who introduced a bill to change the relationship between the diameter and the circumference of a circle, from the "usually accepted" ratio of 3.1416 to the more convenient ratio of exactly 3. Perhaps the socialists can persuade that same legislator to bring in a bill providing that henceforth one thing shall not lead to another, but vice versa. If it is passed, and the Supreme Court doesn't rule that this legislative field has been preempted by our federal government, we promise to move to his state.

In the meantime, however, we must suffer all the baleful results of the outmoded order of things. For instance, we subscribe to *The Worker*, *The National Guardian*, *the New World Review* and a few other out-and-out Communist publications—and read them, too. Otherwise we would not know—as Anna Louise Strong informed us in a recent issue of the *New World Review*—that it was Russia which came to freedom's aid "when the armies of France collapsed before Hitler, and all Europe feared a Dark Ages of a thousand years". Somehow we had got the preposterous idea that Stalin had been an ally of Hitler when Hitler overran France. But these publications rapidly clear up any such misconceptions in the minds of their readers. We wouldn't miss them, even for a weekend with Milovan Djilas.

But—this love for great literature means that your editor's name is on all

kinds of subscription lists, some of which are available to all kinds of liberals for all kinds of purposes. So some one thing we have done (we have no idea what) led to this other thing, of our getting a letter from Eleanor Roosevelt, which in turn led to our flirting on the edge of great danger. As will become clear from our reply.

* * *

March 8, 1958

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

On my return from Washington tonight I found on my desk your letter dated March 7. In this letter you plead with me, on behalf of yourself and your friend Lester Pearson, to join with your other friends in sending at least one hundred dollars each, to help pay for a conference the American Association for the United Nations is holding in Washington later this month.

My secretary, knowing how favorably I would regard such a request, especially from such a source, had already made out my personal check for one thousand dollars, to the A. A. for the U. N. (of which I note you are Chairman of the Board of Governors), and had placed it on top of your letter, ready for my signature.

I was just about to sign this check, and send it on its way, when I picked up a book which was gradually being pushed off my desk by the accumulated brochures of the American Civil Liberties Union. It happened to be the English edition of Corliss Lamont's *FREEDOM IS AS FREEDOM DOES*, and my thumb caught in the middle of Bertrand Russell's introduction (which Mr. Lamont had apparently been too modest to publish in the American edi-

tion). There I learned, before I could get my thumb out and close the book, of the nightmare of persecution now rampant in America against anybody who does what I was about to do. In fact, Mr. Russell solemnly assured me that anybody in this country "who goes so far as to . . . say a good word for the United Nations is liable" to be visited and threatened by the F.B.I. And of course not only you, I am sure, but another authority with almost as much prestige and knowledge as yourself, namely the *New York Times*, will vouch for the fact that Bertrand Russell utters only words of truth and profound wisdom.

So I was saved by so timely a warning. But I cringe to think what would have happened to me if I had mailed that check. Even now I can hear the F.B.I. bloodhounds yapping at my heels. So you will simply have to hold that conference without any of my dollars to help to buy the vodka.

Regretfully,

Robert Welch

* * *

Despite all the persiflage above, we make no commitment not to be serious in these particular pages. And since, at every turn, Bertrand Russell seems to be moving in and out of the copy for this number of our magazine, let's pull him all the way in and take a sober look at this notorious egghead. He is a specimen well worth careful study.

In 1932, Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg, whose reputation as a military hero carried all the way back in German memories to the Seven Weeks War in 1866, was re-elected as President of the Weimar Republic. And some wit remarked that the Germans had elected a legend to head their government. With the shadow of Adolph Hitler al-

ready forecasting future events, this had been a foolish and disastrous thing to do. But even more foolish, and likely to be equally disastrous, is the course being taken today by quite a large segment of the British public. For they have chosen, as their spiritual leader and political mentor, a doddering old refugee from the fourth dimension.

Bertrand Russell was born, with a silver spoon in his mouth, as the second son of an English peer. As Will Durant said in a brilliant double pun, some thirty-five years ago, he thus missed inheriting an earldom by an "heir's breath". As Will Durant did not say, he also missed inheriting any common sense, by an immeasurable gap. Eventually nature corrected the first omission, and our subject became Lord Russell. But the second margin was too large to overcome, so it has gradually grown wider.

If his prowess as a mathematician were important to this discussion, we'd venture a few pinpricks to test even that huge bubble of prestige. We'd begin by pointing out that a small but highly dramatic part of his early reputation rested on his proposal, around 1900, of a brilliant definition of a cardinal number (as the class of all classes similar to a given class); and that while Bertrand Russell has always been given credit by his admirers for having arrived *independently* at this concept, the fact remains that it had already been proposed some twenty years before by the German mathematician, Gottlob Frege, with whose work Russell was familiar. We'd mention next that Russell's one and only important book, *Principia Mathematica*, was written in *collaboration* with Alfred North Whitehead. Several volumes of "learned moonshine" (as they have been de-

scribed by a friendly critic) he wrote all by himself.

But further innuendoes of this kind would sound entirely too much like something out of the Book Review Section of the *New York Times*, when dealing with an anti-Communist book, to be at all honest. So let's take the curse off even the remarks above, by readily conceding that we are not qualified to appraise Bertrand Russell as a mathematician; and that his glorification in that field by the Liberal Establishment may be entirely justified by the facts. Nor do we think that his "moral turpitude" (or whatever the term was which, in a more righteous age, our immigration officials held up to shield us family-loving Americans from contamination by the Bertrand Russells of Europe) deserves more than a passing sentence. What we are coming to, that *is* important, are his merits as a philosopher-statesman. And we wish they were merely negligible, for that would be a huge improvement.

Lord Russell has himself written many chapters to prove that the distinctive feature of the unintelligent man is the hastiness and absoluteness of his opinions. And few men have ever described themselves so accurately—albeit unconsciously—in their own pronouncements. The core of this unintelligence does not consist of the flip-flops and reversals and glaring inconsistencies to which Russell is addicted, but of his refusal to admit any inconsistency between the position he is pontifically supporting today and the categorically opposite position which he was supporting yesterday or may be supporting tomorrow. Always, in all ways, the world is wrong and Bertrand Russell is right. And since the Soviet Union is the only part of the political world which, to

Bertrand Russell, is even worthy of a second thought, his arrogant omniscience invariably winds up guaranteeing the eternal wisdom of the current Communist line—as fast as he can catch up with its turns.

It would take volumes to write a short introduction to the idiocy of Bertrand Russell's fulminations with regard to the practical details of the world's economics and politics. So we'll confine ourselves to an illustration on a higher level; in that realm of generalization and logic where he professes to be such a master. Some years ago he wrote, practically as his credo, and with all the solemnity of which he was capable: "Better the world should perish than that I, or any other human being, should believe a lie." We are sure he would claim that to be the essence of his philosophy today. Yet within the past three weeks he has written, in a personal letter to a friend of mine, that if no alternatives remain except Communist domination or extinction of the human race, he prefers Communist domination. And this, of course, is the line of "blackmail" he is currently using on the British public to condition their thinking in favor of surrender to the Kremlin.

Now so great a logician would certainly welcome our putting his reasoning in the form of a syllogism. When we do, we have this sequence: (1) it is better for the world to perish than for anybody to believe a lie; (2) it is better for the Communists to rule the world than for the world to perish; (3) therefore, it is better for the Communists to rule the world than for anybody to believe a lie.

Since, as Bertrand Russell well knows, Communist power has been acquired by lies, and its continuance and growth

depend vitally on lies, the conclusion he supports is childish in its absurdity. But this is mature and rigorous argument compared to most of what he is spouting in his writings and speeches today. The truth, of course, is that this conceited old crackpot—who has always regarded the labyrinthine processes of his own mind as the most important phenomenon in nature—has now degenerated into merely a puppet of the Communists, happy in the conspicuousness he achieves through being dangled by them at the front end of their propaganda line. Russell himself has proclaimed that he loves "perfection more than life". He has good grounds, therefore, for a feeling of happiness and accomplishment. For we believe he can easily claim the honor of being the most consummate egghead of our times.

* * *

In the *New York Times* on January 26, 1958, Dore Schary is quoted — we presume in connection with his recent opus, *Sunrise at Campobello* — as saying: "I had read everything that had been written about Franklin D. Roosevelt since his death." Alfred Knopf describes that as the neatest trick of the year. But we disagree. We think the neatest trick of the year was performed by Bill Buckley of *National Review* when, on proposing a non-governmental committee to study what is wrong with Radio Free Europe, he suggested Henry A. Kissinger as a member of that committee. We expect any day now to hear that General Douglas MacArthur has suggested to President Eisenhower that Adlai Stevenson be made chairman of a committee to study what is wrong with Foreign Aid. It's a topsy-turvy world, my masters. Here's hoping you are not the same.

(Continued from page 12)

they see that "every culture provides distorting or colouring glasses" through which the world appears as something which is different from what it really is; and, therefore, from their lofty perches as oneworlders, they decree that it is the mission of WHO and kindred agencies to globalize standards of nutrition, environmental sanitation, mental health, and anything else that comes to mind.

Our respective national constitutions, like our moral standards, are obsolete, in view of Dr. Chisholm and his kind. In his presidential address last August, he consigned the Constitution of the United States, along with all others of the world, to limbo. He said: "It is obvious that none of our constitutions was ever designed for the world the way it is now. It was never designed to support and use the United Nations. I think all our constitutions were designed for competition to the death, always with the certainty that warfare was the final recourse; and the concept of warfare lies behind the legislation of all past generations. That is gone. Because that is true, our constitutions, I think without exception anywhere in the world, are obsolete and need to be changed extensively in order to fit this changing world. All our national institutions were designed for competition, ruthless competition. All our methods of doing business were designed for the same purpose. None of them was designed for mutual co-operation on a world basis for the welfare of mankind."

It Is A Crime For The United States To Be Rich . . .

Dr. Chisholm went on to say that it is "manifestly absurd" for a "very small proportion of the human race"

meaning the people of the United States, to enjoy a "tremendous proportion of the world's natural resources". He predicted, with the obvious envy which oneworlders feel toward the United States, that this situation cannot last, because Nature's gifts to the American people are "not a sensible arrangement". Apparently, Dr. Chisholm feels that we are heading toward a socialist redistribution of wealth on a global scale—and heartily approves.

Or Even To Exist . . .

Finally, in this presidential address before the World Federation for Mental Health, Dr. Chisholm went all-out for world government and the obliteration of all national boundaries. He asked rhetorically, "National boundaries. Why? What for?" After explaining that wise and intelligent visitors from some other planet would be at a total loss to understand the national loyalties found on the Earth, Dr. Chisholm declared that "if we really looked at it, we might come to the conclusion that all our international boundaries are ridiculous."

Dr. Chisholm then envisioned the day of complete integration of the nations of the world in a global society ruled over by a global government. Movement in this direction has been undertaken by the World Federation for Mental Health, which is an official part of the total WHO apparatus. Said the founder of WHO: "One of the early steps toward integration is being taken in this organization; the World Federation for Mental Health, and it has gone a little way."

In 1957, Dr. Chisholm delivered the "Bampton Lectures in America" at Columbia University. In his third lecture, he returned to what is ap-

The World Health Organization

parently a favorite subject; namely, that the very idea of morality has no validity in man's nature and his universe, that the very concept of sin is the equivalent of superstition, that there are no eternal values and verities the violation of which entails unhappy consequences.

And To Believe In Sin Is A Sin . . .

"I think," said Dr. Chisholm in his Bampton lecture, "there is no doubt that this idea of sin creates much havoc in our relationships with other cultures . . . We must remember that it is only in some cultures that sin exists. For instance, the Eskimos didn't have this concept until quite recently. Now they have; they caught it from us." Dr. Chisholm then quoted an anonymous and "very eminent cleric" who was alleged to have said: "You know, for years we couldn't do anything with those Eskimos at all; they didn't have any sin. We had to teach them sin for years before we could do anything with them." On his own, Dr. Chisholm added contemptuously: "The Eskimos were in a state of innocence, but they had to be made to feel sinful so they could be controlled."

Dr. Chisholm's "very eminent cleric" was a palpable fiction calculated to titillate his Columbia University audience. The mental-health program, which WHO was chartered to foster as one of its basic aims, holds that the concept of sin is the excrescence of diseased minds, as well as a tool of other diseased minds scheming to control masses of innocent and immature human beings.

Also in his third Bampton lecture, Dr. Chisholm reported that many members of the secretariats of the United Nations and its specialized agencies came to him during his tenure

as Director-General of WHO to say that they were "unhappy and embarrassed by . . . instructions from their governments, from their state departments, from their foreign offices . . ." This is easy to believe with respect to some of the Americans who were in the employ of the UN and its agencies, and who were eventually exposed as Communists. One thing, however, is certain: none of these delegates and secretariat personnel who complained about the necessity of obeying the instructions of their respective governments were from the Soviet Union.

While Loyalty Louses Up The Deal . . .

Expanding on this subject, Dr. Chisholm told his Columbia University audience: "I have also seen many members of secretariats come back to work from home leaves very unhappy indeed. I remember one man telling me that he didn't know how he was ever going to be able to go home to live, because he found it very painful living among his own relatives . . . *He had become a functioning world citizen.*" (Italics supplied).

Inadvertently, perhaps, Dr. Chisholm thus revealed that the prevailing attitude among the personnel of the United Nations and its agencies, excepting always the Communists, is that working in the UN, WHO, FAO, UNESCO, and UNICEF is working for a burgeoning world government. Exposed to the seductive sentimentality of doing good for the human race, these members of the secretariats betray their trust, privately repudiate their national loyalties, and ride off as globaliers to the final crusade.

Brock Chisholm is on record as declaring that the term "Iron Curtain" . . .

creates imaginary boundaries" and that "the concept of the 'Iron Curtain' is damaging to world peace." It may be imaginary to Dr. Chisholm; to the world it is real.

To sum up, Dr. Chisholm sees in the wave of the future, when men have reached maturity, "the lugubrious emblems of mortality" (to borrow a phrase from Hawthorne) for sin, morality, national loyalties, the United States Constitution, the natural wealth of the United States, and other concepts and institutions which belong to a dead and dying past.

III

WHO And Fluoridation . . .

IN SEPTEMBER, 1957, WHO made a declaration in favor of the fluoridation of the water supply. This dictum left the questions of the precise benefits or hazards of putting fluorides in the public's drinking water exactly where they were before. WHO's pronouncement on the subject, like that of the House of Delegates of the American Medical Association, in December, 1957, amounted to a propaganda statement in favor of socialized medicine. The *New York Times* was quick to exploit the propaganda value of the so-called findings of both WHO and AMA in that newspapers's campaign to bring about the fluoridation of the drinking water of eight million residents of New York City.

The proponents of fluoridation do not even allege that it is beneficial in the prevention of dental decay for the seventy-eight percent of the population which is above nine years of age. They propose, nevertheless, to subject some six million New York residents to a compulsory medication which is at best useless. The cost of fluoridation of the water supply is borne by the taxpayers.

It is socialized medicine in an area of health where the allegedly preventive fluorides are readily available in tablet form to individuals who desire to purchase them for their children.

Regardless of all questions of toxicity, mottling, and caries, the compulsory and socialized medication involved in the fluoridation of the tax-supported water supply is the main issue. Shall we turn to Big Brother to cut down dental bills? WHO and AMA say yes. If so, why not a daily glass of compulsory carrot juice to cope with the problem of defective eyesight? Why not get to the root of the matter and pass a law, making it illegal to sell candy to children and decreeing punishment for parents who permit excessive carbohydrates in their offspring's diet? Or, since health is bound up with correct nutrition, shall we put WHO on the job to watch us at every meal?

IV

National Citizens Committee For The World Health Organization . . .

THE LEFT-WING CHARACTER OF WHO is evident in the political orientation of its most ardent supporters as well as that of its officials.

On May 15, 1953, the National Citizens Committee for WHO was incorporated in the State of New York "for non-profit, charitable and educational purposes". "For propaganda purposes", would have been a more accurate way to put it. Naturally, the Citizens Committee enjoys federal income tax exemption.

At the present time, the Citizens Committee for WHO has a policy committee and board of directors numbering sixty-three members. Nine out of ten politically informed Americans could guess that Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt is one of them. Probably, a large num-

ber could guess that one of the Reuther boys is another. In this case, it is Victor, the author of the slogan, "Carry forward to a Soviet America." (Walter is vice-president of the United World Federalists.)

Seventeen of the members of the National Citizens Committee for WHO have records of affiliation with Communist enterprises.

According to the latest annual WHO report, Dr. E. M. Bluestone, Montefiore Hospital, New York City, is a member of WHO's Expert Committee on Organization of Medical Care. Dr. Bluestone sponsored the notorious Waldorf-Astoria conference of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions which the State Department described as an "instrument of Soviet propaganda". He was also affiliated with the following Communist organizations: American Friends of Spanish Democracy, the Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee, and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Dr. Leo Eloesser, professor emeritus of Stanford University, was a member of the WHO staff from 1947 to 1949. Prior to that, from 1945 to 1947, he was employed with the China Mission of UNRRA, and subsequently, from 1949 to 1953, he was with UNICEF. During the Spanish Civil War, Dr. Eloesser served as a surgeon with the Communist forces in Spain. After the outbreak of the Korean War, he was honorary chairman of the China Welfare Appeal, a Communist organization which raised funds in the United States for Red China. Dr. Eloesser's other Communist connections have been too numerous to mention. It has been reported that he unnecessarily held up a WHO project for the treatment of trachoma for the children of Taiwan.

WHO, Mental Health, And World Government . . .

Attention has already been called to the official connection between WHO and the World Federation for Mental Health, and that Dr. Brock Chisholm was the first Director-General of the former and the incumbent president of the latter. Dr. Chisholm's world-government ideas pervade the thinking of these interlocked organizations. In an article written for *Survey Graphic* magazine more than ten years ago, Dr. Chisholm said: "In order to obtain peace for the world it is certain that we will have to sacrifice much of our own national sovereignty; we must ourselves grow to the stature of world citizenship and develop larger loyalties. . . . Surely it is becoming increasingly clear that nothing short of world government can ensure survival of the human race."

At the final session of the International Congress on Mental Health, held in London in August, 1948, the discussions of the gathering were summed up by Professor J. C. Flugel, as follows: "Under present-day conditions full mental health is only possible with reference to 'one world'. Hence, the emphasis on 'world citizenship', which has however been interpreted not so much politically but rather as a spiritual acceptance of world community. . . . We need new concepts and new symbols around which world loyalties can crystallize."

At the same International Congress on Mental Health, the following official declaration was made: "Principles of mental health cannot be successfully furthered in any society unless there is progressive acceptance of the concept of world citizenship. World citizenship can be widely extended among all

peoples through the applications of the principles of mental health."

The New Abracadabra . . .

The incantations of mental health are as far removed from the political and economic realities of the world as the animism of an African tribe is distant from the theology of Aquinas. And yet, the doctors of mental health prescribe it as the cure-all for what ails the world. Dr. Frank Boudreau is a good example of the mental healthists in this respect. Addressing the Seventy-ninth Annual Meeting of the American Public Health Association in San Francisco, Dr. Boudreau declared: "Our present aggressiveness and competitive spirit must give way to compassion, sympathy, and cooperation. Advances in our knowledge of human psychology, sociology, and psychiatry, built into programs of mental health, give the most promise of success. WHO's present limited programs for mental health need to be developed and expanded until they cover the earth." Then and only then will we have "vigorous cooperative action toward building a world society in which opportunities for health, long life, rising standards of living, and freedom will be open to men, women, and children of every race, creed, or country." Dr. Boudreau is a member of the board of directors of the National Citizens Committee for the World Health Organization.

Apparently WHO considers the United Kingdom the most sacred shrine of the mental health sect. Thither WHO sends native sons of other countries to study the principles and methods of the cult, in order that they may return to their homelands as more zealous evangelists of world citizenship. In its latest annual report, WHO listed fel-

lowships for the study of mental health in the United Kingdom to trainees from Nigeria, Germany, Ireland, Egypt, Israel, and Japan—to take a few examples. We shall see what success these returning evangelists have in curing the natives of these countries of the competitive spirit and national loyalties.

But The Same Uncle Sap . . .

The 1957 assessments for the operating costs of WHO totalled \$12,911,710, of which the United States share is \$3,867,610 or thirty-three per cent. The United Kingdom's share is a little less than ten percent and that of the U.S.S.R. is also just below ten percent. Of the internationally recruited WHO employees, twenty-one percent are from the United Kingdom and twelve percent are from the United States.

It has come to be axiomatic in these global endeavors that they depend for their existence upon financial support from the United States. The United States contribution of \$3,800,000 will not bankrupt the taxpayers of the United States or dislocate our national economy. But the main question is "Why?" Why should American taxpayers be called upon to finance a global soteriology which runs counter to both reason and our foreign policy?

Obviously, the world is full of crazy people who need to be restored to some kind of mental health. The craziest of all are those who would have us throw away our weapons and stockpile maudlin sentimentality in their place. And a lot of them will be meeting in Minneapolis in May.

There will be another article by Dr. Matthews in the June issue of this magazine.

HIGHLIGHT OF THE MONTH IN WASHINGTON

by

LEE EDWARDS

March — The Kohler Company In The Star Chamber

After a particularly smooth morning session, midway through March, Robert Kennedy, counsel for the Senate Rackets Committee, strolled over to the United Auto Workers' legal table and, with an infectious grin spreading over his cherubic face, inquired of Joseph Rauh, chief union counsel: "How are we doing?"

Such camaraderie between investigator and investigated suggests that the UAW had more than a passing advantage in the recently completed Senate investigation of union violence and vandalism during a strike against the Kohler Company of Wisconsin. Frankly, "we" did not do very well, but it was through no fault of assorted senators, staff members and witnesses who made it abundantly clear that they knew the Kohler Company was guilty on all counts submitted by the UAW. This included several charges unrelated to the issues, that occurred twenty years before the four-year-old strike began. A roll call of presumably unbiased participants makes this painfully apparent:

Robert Kennedy, chief (and Democratic) counsel. Reporters argued that he tried to be dispassionate, but his personal feelings were as evident as indicated by his remark quoted above.

Democratic chairman John McClellan of Arkansas. He was described by members of both parties as impartial yet, when the efficacy of his committee

was challenged on the Senate floor, he did *not defend it*. Instead, he stated that the committee's 1957 report would "fully justify to any impartial mind . . . that the work of his committee in its first year was effective and was worthwhile." (Italics added.) McClellan made no defense of the Kohler inquiry other than to promise that "when ever I reach the conclusion that the usefulness of the committee has come to an end . . . I shall walk out on the floor of the Senate and so report." This was not a statement calculated to rally opinion to the committee's cause.

Democratic Senator Patrick McNamara of Michigan. A former union leader, on whose election in 1954 the UAW (which he was supposed to be investigating) had spent \$725,000.00, McNamara did his best to place the Kohler people in the worst possible light. One day, he entered the room at 2:55, listened to the testimony of Lyman Conger, company counsel, for a half hour, described the use of private detectives by the company as "gestapo methods", and left at 3:35—five minutes after the television cameras stopped.

Democratic Senators John Kennedy of Massachusetts and Sam Ervin, Jr., of North Carolina. Both men made infrequent appearances; Kennedy undoubtedly through a desire not to embarrass the UAW's president, Walter Reuther, a useful man to have as a friend in the 1960 presidential primaries; Ervin for less obvious reasons.

Republican Senator Irving Ives of New York. Senator Ives is a Republican sometimes, but a liberal always. He also elected to travel the easiest road by never (well hardly ever) dropping in on the party.

Fortunately for the Kohler Company and the record, Republican Senators Barry Goldwater of Arizona, Karl Mundt of South Dakota and Carl Curtis of Nebraska were in constant attendance, determined to show that violence, coercion, and boycott constituted the *modus operandi* of the UAW.

Certain facts did emerge from the maelstrom of emotion and hyperbole. (1) The UAW has spent over ten million dollars in the strike (which celebrated its fourth birthday on April 5), on strikers' benefits and in support of a nation-wide boycott against the Kohler Company. (2) Over eight hundred complaints, of violence and vandalism against—mainly—workers who refused to strike, have been filed with the Sheboygan police. (3) William Bersch, Jr., testified that a beating by strike sympathizers had, according to physicians, contributed to his father's death. (4) John Gunaca, named and identified before the committee as one of Bersch, Jr.'s assailants, has avoided Wisconsin prosecution by residing in Michigan, where he will probably remain forever—while Governor G. Mennen Williams has refused, for three and one-half years, to grant extradition. (5) Robert Burkart, who took an active part in strike preparations in 1954 as a UAW representative, belonged, from 1944-1947, to a Trotskyite group known as the Socialist Workers Party. Burkart denied under oath that he was still a member, to which Lyman Conger later retorted: "He may have left the party, but the party hasn't left him."

There is no denying the complexity of issues of the Kohler strike, which cannot be explained solely in terms of the Senate investigation. The NLRB conducted hearings for a period of over two years, filling 19,700 pages of transcript. Once, in October of 1956, the trial examiner held that the case should be dismissed because union trustees (who had originated the demand for investigation) had not filed non-Communist affidavits, in accordance with the Taft-Hartley Act. On February 8, 1957, the five-member NLRB board reversed the ruling, holding that the trustees were not "officers" of the union; and that therefore they were not required to file affidavits.

Much of what the Rackets Committee heard was a rerun of testimony given before the NLRB. This repetition disturbed several pundits, who argued that nothing new was uncovered and that the investigation was a waste of time. Such critics mistake, or ignore, the purpose of the committee; which is not to serve as a board of arbitration, but to recommend legislation on the basis of its probing of labor and management activities.

Both Senators Goldwater and McClellan declared that there is need of new labor laws to curb the indiscriminate use of power by labor unions. McClellan said that Congress should do something about a situation in which a union can employ "so many pickets" (approximately two to three thousand in April, 1954 and presently 250 outside the Kohler gates) and "keep people away from their work by sheer force."

Equally important was that the record of the strike and the brutalities committed by the UAW were presented to the public. The Dumont Television Network carried the hearings locally

Highlight Of The Month In Washington

for five hours a day from March 10-21. The UAW frequently attempted to capitalize upon this telecasting. On March 20, before the morning session began, Joseph Rauh, the union counsel and a founder and present vice-chairman of the ADA, was interviewed. Smiling Joe ended an argumentative diatribe for boycotts by saying: "Certainly we believe in them, and if anybody's listening, we want to urge them not to use Kohler products made by scabs."

[Mr. Rauh, it should be recalled, is a man of parts. Among his other honors he has the distinction of having been one of three men—Alfred Friendly and Clayton Fritchey being the other two—who paid a fake named Paul Hughes \$10,800.00 to try to get something on Senator McCarthy. Their agent Hughes aptly described himself, in a memorandum to Fritchey early in this association, by writing "...relaxing somewhat on ethics ... perhaps is probably what I'm best suited for ..." Editor]

No clearer contrast of the principles and principals involved could have been offered than that of Herbert Kohler and Walter Reuther, who testified late in March. The company president, a tall, squarely-built man with a deep resonant voice, outlined his position calmly and firmly. He said that the union had lost the strike, and that his

company would not reward violence and illegal conduct by suing for peace. The UAW president, who fluctuates between the emotional levels of a labor missionary and a self-educated professor, was finally persuaded to admit that some mistakes had been made by union members at Kohler, Wisconsin! But he disclaimed any personal responsibility. Senatorial questions were used, by the tiresome but untiring labor leader, as launching pads for philosophical, economic and political flights of oratory. Reuther resembled nothing else so much as a very agile squid that disappears into inky darkness whenever it is attacked.

The original demands of the strike are not now of prime importance. The major obstruction to settlement is the union demand that strikers be reinstated, which would require the company to dismiss those men who have loyally served the Kohler Company for four years, and which would thus condone the union tactics of vandalism and terror. To this reporter, to accede to such a demand would be as logical as to admit Communist China, conceived in massacre and sustained by purge, to the United Nations. It is significant that the Open Persuaders for the cause of the one are as vociferous in their support of the other.

PSALM OF THE WELFARE STATE

The government is my shepherd, I need not work. It alloweth me to lie down on good jobs: it leadeth me beside the still factories. It destroyeth my initiative: it leadeth me in the paths of the parasite for politics' sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of laziness and deficit spending, I shall fear no evil; for its doles and its vote-getters, they comfort me. It prepareth an economic utopia for me by appropriating the earnings of my grandchildren. It filleth my head with bologna: my inefficiency runneth over. Surely the government shall care for me all the days of my life and I shall dwell in a fool's paradise forever.

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

EDWIN McDOWELL

To avoid undue shock to our readers, it is only fair to warn you that, this month, the middle part of this REVIEW will talk about books that do not talk about Communism.

This does not mean, however, that we have joined the liberal herd which, by ostentatiously stampeding away from even a sideways glance at Communism, is trying to prove that the terror no longer exists. As the first and last parts of this parley will indicate, we still see Communists under almost every bed—more than ever before—and with good reason. For anybody else who will take an honest look can see them too. The Communists are right there. They are very real. And those under the beds are now so numerous that their feet stick out on all sides.

* * *

Contrary to carefully promoted and commonly accepted beliefs, the rise of Communism did not come about as a cosmic accident, or by historical determinism, or through divine inspiration. Nor was Communism conceived as a science. It began as a militant call to force and violence—for the purpose of abolishing capitalism and establishing the dictatorship of an amorphous rabble called the proletariat. How a comparatively few men following this call—in the infinitesimally minute period of four decades which began seventy years after the call was issued—have become able to threaten the entire world, is a story without parallel. And it is a story which, true to its original

plan, has been written in blood and terror.

The call to arms, by Karl Marx and his partner-in-crime, Friedrich Engels, might never have got beyond the shouting and scheming stage had it not been for Vladimir I. Ulyanov, alias Nikolai Lenin. In 1917 this merciless fanatic, with a handful of bedraggled followers, was able to overthrow the moderate Kerenski regime which had started the Russian Revolution, and to put the beginning of modern Communism into practice. J. Edgar Hoover, in *MASTERS OF DECEIT* (Holt, N.Y.; 374 pages, \$5.00), traces the progress of Communism, from its genesis in the fiery writings of Marx and Engels, to its present claims in the "drunken" boasting of Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev. The author then goes on to a careful analysis of Communism in America.

The story of the growth of the Communist Party in the United States opens with bickering, fighting, and bitter rivalry among the many factions striving for control. But by 1921 sufficient solidity had been achieved for the Party to split itself consciously and deliberately into two parts: the above-ground Communist Party and the *nameless* underground Party. (There was a time when the Communists themselves boasted that their organization in America was like an iceberg, with the nine-tenths under the surface, which could not be seen, constituting their real strength. Today, when the percentage of that strength which is underground is im-

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mensely larger, they would like to have the iceberg analogy forgotten.)

After the security of disciplined unity had been achieved, the Communists began their infiltration into the everyday activities of American life. The contamination of schools, labor unions, patriotic organizations, and all other groups and segments, got under way. Soon, wherever there was an opportunity to foment trouble the Communists were sure to be on hand—working incessantly to confuse and to divide, until the day should come when they could impose their dictatorship on a helplessly disunited United States.

Mr. Hoover convincingly dispels the popular myth that the numerical strength of Communist Party membership indicates the real strength of Communist influence. This myth is, of course, deceptive nonsense. For neither Alger Hiss nor Harry Dexter White was ever a card-carrying member of the Communist Party. Yet, in their hidden roles, they did irreparable damage to our country. And the real measure of Communist strength is the total influence of the strategically placed dupes, sympathizers, and fellow travelers, whom the secret Communists are able to keep mobilized in service to the conspiracy.

Mr. Hoover also offers excellent examples of the misleading double-talk which abounds in Communist writings and speeches. He does not name names, until his not doing so becomes annoying. But his restraint in this respect is understandable. He has to consider the continuing effectiveness of his Federal Bureau of Investigation, one of the few remaining strong bulwarks against the Communist advance in this country. So there was nothing to be gained by drawing any unnecessary fire from the

irrational liberals. Of course such "liberal" voices as the *New York Times Book Review* and the *Saturday Review Of Literature* made it clear to their readers once again that Communists were now almost as extinct in this country as dinosaurs; and that it was a pity the long out-dated Mr. Hoover should tilt his lance at the few remaining dinosaurs, before they could "silently steal away" into oblivion. But even some of the liberal press found a few good words to say about *Masters Of Deceit*. And with them, or despite them, the book is likely to remain near the top of the best seller lists for quite a while.

* * *

If this were played upon a stage now, I could condemn it as an improbable fiction.

Twelfth Night, Act III, Scene 4

THE PENTAGON CASE (Freedom Press, 520 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, N.Y.; 247 pages, \$3.95), by Col. Victor J. Fox, is supposedly a work of fiction. In reality it is one of the truest and best records yet written of contemporary Communist activities. The academic woods are full today of dishonest hacks and careless pundits who label their blatant distortions as history. (See bottom of Page 139 in *The Crisis Of The Old Order*, where Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., makes three important misstatements of fact in one sentence.) Col. Fox—the name is a pseudonym—has reversed the procedure. He has written some amazing history, of what has happened to America through these blatant distortions in press, television, magazines, movies, and radio—and has labeled it fiction. And the result is a "thriller and chiller" to equal the best.

As exciting as is the tale of Brett Cable, Special Assistant for Public Re-

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lations in the Department of Defense, however, even the story-interest assumes a secondary importance as the "fictitious" events unfold before the reader's eyes. Gradually these events begin to fall into place, like a well constructed puzzle—or as in a truly great mystery novel. Soon the reader finds himself identifying real persons and factual developments. The initial reaction that "it can't happen here" gives way to the shocking realization that it is happening here, on a scale so large, and so well concealed by sheer brazenness, that most of us refuse either to see or to believe the true situation right before our eyes.

But there is an even more striking angle to this work of "fiction". As soon as Bret Cable uncovers subversion in the government, he is accused of being mentally unsound, and becomes the victim of a calculated campaign on that front, so insidious and so vindictive that it *should be* unbelievable. High government officials try, by every form of trickery and coercion, to have Cable committed to a government hospital where, bereft of medical examination, he will be pronounced insane and forever silenced. What makes this part of the tale so strange and so deadly serious, however, is the fantastic parallel with the Fletcher Bartholomew case. For Fulton Lewis, Jr., had not revealed, and Col. Fox did not know, anything of the true story of Fletcher Bartholomew until *after* Col. Fox had written his book. And the big difference in the two cases is that Brett Cable, being a "fictitious" character, managed to elude the "mental health" trap; while in real life Fletcher Bartholomew was railroaded to a mental hospital when he complained about the number of homosexuals in the Free Europe program.

You can be sure that the "liberal" reviewers have ignored, and will continue completely to ignore, this book. But partly because of its superlative quality as fiction, partly because of the urgent importance of its message, it is already achieving a phenomenal sale and distribution. This is largely through the chain reaction of one astounded reader buying copies to give his friends, each of whom does the same for friends of his own. (These copies are being purchased, in most instances, either from *The Bookmailer*, or directly from the publisher. For, due to the loud silence of the liberal reviewers about it, many bookstores have not yet even heard of *The Pentagon Case*.) Here is a book, in fact, which may easily become an outstanding best seller in reality, without ever getting anywhere near the "official" best seller lists at all.

Former counterspy Herbert A. Philbrick has said of *The Pentagon Case*, "In terms of sheer terror it has no equal". The *Daily News* called it "an exciting and informative novel". And the excellent magazine, *USA*, promised to give a year's free subscription "to any reader who can start reading *The Pentagon Case* and not finish it".

* * *

Now for that recess we promised, from preoccupation with the battle of the twentieth century, Kremlin *versus* Humanity.

Since the days of Marco Polo, the Orient has held a special fascination and charm for the western world. The mysteries and mysticism of this strange "never-never land" have had an appeal like that of fairy tales. So completely different did this realm seem that Kipling added to his fame by proclaiming the irreconcilability of East and West. And his dictum might have gone un-

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challenged longer, had it not been for a vagabond traveler named Lafcadio Hearn. This wandering nomad, half Greek and part Irish, had journeyed the world over, searching for Shangri-la. Finally he came to Japan. Here, with his Japanese wife, Lafcadio Hearn spent the rest of his life interpreting the Orient and the Occident to each other.

RE-ECHO (Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho; 161 pages, \$10.00), by Kazuo Hearn Koizumi, edited by Nancy Jane Fellers, is the inspiring story of "life with father," told by Hearn's first-born son. Through kindly patience, understanding, and—when necessary—firmness, Lafcadio Hearn awakened the boy to the wonders of exciting worlds beyond the seas. Geography and history, literature and arithmetic, were taught with the embellishments of a master story teller. Each lesson brought the breathless thrill of a new discovery, and learning became something to regard as an unending joy.

This is a beautiful book, containing original Hearn sketches and paintings which are the last Lafcadio Hearn source materials previously unpublished. Each page is a wonderland of stories, lessons, and information. Reading it is like reliving some of childhood's wonderful years. The book's underlying theme, the companionship of a father and son, is timeless; and its appeal, to young and old alike, will be exceptionally strong.

* * *

H. L. Mencken hated government, lampooned hypocrisy, and laughed at *homo americanus*. But this "pied piper of Baltimore" (as John Abbot Clark called him), who was the idol of the intelligentsia during the twenties, be-

came the "reactionary misanthrope" of the fifties. It was not that Mencken had changed; for he never lost his enjoyment of life, and his wit and its barbs remained as sharp as ever. It was just that truth, once so dear to the hearts of the intellectuals, had now fallen into disgrace with fortune and men's eyes.

H. L. MENCKEN, *PREJUDICES* (Vintage N.Y.; 258 pages, \$1.25), selected by James T. Farrell, is an excellent sampling from his wide range of interests. Whether writing about reason, religion, or Roosevelt, Mencken deflates both the boobs and the buncombe artists with sure strokes of his acid-coated pen. Of course, to admire Mencken, for his individuality and his swellegant language, is not to embrace every Mencken "prejudice" as one's own. Willi Schlamm once said of him: "Within his limits, Mencken is magnificent and incomparable. Inflated beyond them, he bursts." In these selections he is magnificent and incomparable.

* * *

Recess is over. Short, wasn't it?

In the November, 1953 *American Mercury*, Dr. J. B. Matthews published an article, so powerful in its revelations that it proved to be explosive, on Communism in our churches. Myers Lowman and his *Circuit Riders*, in Cincinnati, have been steadily and effectively turning their searchlight on the same subject for years. Nevertheless, the increasing appearance of pro-Communist spokesmen and of collectivist doctrines in our pulpits has been explored less than similar infiltration into any comparable field. Or it had been, that is, until the recent publication of Edgar C. Bundy's consummate study, *COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES* (Church League of America, Wheaton, Illinois;

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354 pages, \$5.00). This book names names all right; it is a comprehensive encyclopaedia of persons and organizations tarred with the Communist brush. Also, it is fully documented and meticulously indexed.

Mr. Bundy, a Protestant lay theologian, is chairman of the Church League of America. With detailed illustrations, he explains how the Communists have been able to distort the teachings of Christ until they become indistinguishable from the rantings of Karl Marx. If you have ever wondered why some church groups (usually the same ones, time after time), were so vociferous in opposition to the McCarran-Walter Bill or the Bricker Amendment or H-bomb tests, while equally noisy in support of federal aid to education or increased power for the United Nations, you will find the answers in this book.

If the "liberal" theologians continue on their present track, they will soon outdistance the "liberal" professors and the "liberal" scientists, for the distinction of being the group most responsible for delivering America into the hands of the enemy. *Collectivism In The Churches* will show you how far they have already gone.

* * *

Some excellent books we do not have room to review must at least be mentioned. *THE LASTING SOUTH* (Regnery, Chicago; 208 pages, \$5.50), edited by Louis D. Rudin, Jr., and James J. Kilpatrick, is a collection of fourteen beautifully written essays dealing with southern life. *THEORY AND HISTORY* (Yale Press, New Haven; 384 pages, \$6.00), by Ludwig von Mises, is a scholarly interpretation of the social and economic problems of history. *ON LOVE* (Meridian, N.Y.; 204 pages, \$3.50), a posthumous volume by Jose

Ortega y Gasset, is — surprisingly enough, when you note either the title or the author — primarily a stout defense of common man. *YEAR OF CRISIS* (Macmillan, N.Y.; 414 pages, \$5.50), edited by Evron M. Kirkpatrick, is a thorough analysis of the various propaganda techniques used by the Communists during 1956. *ADENAUER AND THE NEW GERMANY* (Farrar, N.Y.; 300 pages, \$5.25), by Edgar Alexander, presents a definitive biography of Germany's chancellor and Europe's greatest statesman. *7 YEARS' SOLITARY* (Harcourt, Brace, N.Y.; 256 pages, \$4.50), by ex-Communist Edith Bone, is the story of one who, returned from the dead, can tell you what Communism really is.

But it wouldn't do for a conservative to be making positive sounds too long. We must start knocking something or somebody again, if just for the sake of balance — and to keep some liberal from fainting. We'll wind up, therefore, with equally brief mention of the two most "godawful" books we can think of at the minute, out of the current crop. They are: *A TESTAMENT OF FAITH* (Little, Brown, Boston; 176 pages, \$3.00), by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam; and *PIOUS AND SECULAR AMERICA* (Scribner's, N.Y.; 150 pages, \$3.00), by Reinhold Niebuhr. Oxnam issues a not so subtle call for a new social order, while Niebuhr concerns himself with simply swimming in the contemporary sociological seas. Each has a favorite *bête noire*. For Oxnam it is the "former conspirator", Whittaker Chambers; for Niebuhr, it is the symbol of "the period of hysteria", Senator McCarthy. If you'd like to know something more about the authors themselves, we refer you to *Collectivism In The Churches*, reviewed above.

LOOKING BOTH WAYS

Our print order always includes, besides enough copies for our subscription list and our current prospect list, a sizable overrun to take care of orders for individual copies. For the first time since we began publication of AMERICAN OPINION's predecessor, ONE MAN'S OPINION, in January, 1956, our most recent issue is sold out before we are well into the month of its publication date. At present, the April issue of AMERICAN OPINION is out of print, and we have a number of unfilled orders on hand.

We shall probably run more. For the interest in all of the contents of this number has been most encouraging. Dr. Hans Sennholz's article on *The Federal Reserve System*, in particular, has attracted what is—for us—wide attention. But the heaviest part of the unusual demand, nevertheless, has been for the longer essay, *A Letter To Khrushchev*. We have received more mail, and more favorable mail, on that article, than on all others put together since we started the magazine. So the one certain effect already achieved by this small flood of orders has been to push us, finally but firmly, into the reprint business.

Reprints of a earlier article, *A Letter To The South, On Segregation*, have been available since the December following its first publication in September, 1956. (It is, in fact, in a third printing, and still going well.) And reprints of *A Letter To Khrushchev*, in the same large type and book style, occupying forty pages, as when it appeared in the April AMERICAN OPINION, are now ready. Prices for both are listed below, and reprints of additional articles will be offered soon. We hope and believe that this is one more step in the direction of greater effectiveness.

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AMERICAN OPINION

IN THIS NUMBER

Sixth in a series of (what have proved to be) the most penetrating and prophetic analyses of developments in Europe which have been published in America:

EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

William S. Schlamm

**Many Other Articles
And Regular Features**

AN INFORMAL REVIEW

Volume I Number 6

JULY-AUGUST 1958

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June 9, 1958

Dear Reader:

We are gambling on your desire for the truth instead of comfort. This, slightly reworded, is the way Hilaire du Berrier begins his article on Page 7. He has thus expressed for us the editorial precept of our magazine.

We do not know whether this contributor was himself consciously paraphrasing Emerson or not. But that most profound of all Americans said: "God offers to every mind its choice between truth and repose. Take which you please—you can never have both." To which we can only add another paraphrase: Emerson, thou should'st be living at this hour.

If it is an uncomfortable business to hear the truth today, however, we can assure you it is a far more painful ordeal to speak it. As William Schlammm implies (on the next page), all of us would like very much indeed to be calling to your attention that the forces of evil had been routed; and that a world once out of joint was now as right as a pippin. We'd sell more magazines by doing so. But we have doubts about being allowed to take the money with us to a concentration camp.

Eleven times a year, therefore, we publish some forty-eight pages of truth, much of which is intended to make any patriotic American better informed and more uncomfortable. But, as we announced when AMERICAN OPINION was born, no separate issue will be published for the month of August. Our next setting of plain truth will be dated September. And we share your hope that it will not have become still more discomfiting in the meantime.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

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EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Mailed from Paris, May 16, 1958

A VISIT AT NATO headquarters (housed in the glorious castle of Fontainebleau near Paris) is one of those moving experiences that make your sympathy with the erring increase together with your certainty that he errs. There is an almost heroic spirit of friendliness, brotherly co-operation and profound confidence in the entire multilingual structure; an air of civilized manners within a military body that still, after several years of existence, affects you as if it were an amiable improvisation. I cannot truthfully say that I found much genuine cheer inside NATO. But from top to bottom there is in this overblown general staff of an undersized army the characteristic faith of honorable men in the job to be done; the kind of courteous good will that, alas, was the earmark of Western defeats for the last few decades.

Once you have conquered the traditional difficulties of Parisian communication systems (the "busy" signals keep coming in so thick that you can't help being apprehensive whether the Red Army wouldn't be crossing the Rhine long before the S.O.S. concerning their attack could get through the Fontainebleau operator), once you do discuss matters with learned NATO officers, your heart goes out to them—and your mind is more worried than ever. These men, one realizes after a while, outdo the labors of Sisyphus. The stones they

keep carrying up the hill not only keep rolling down again; these stones fall smack on their own heads.

Only a few NATO officers can indulge in the luxury of thinking. Just like soldiers anywhere else, they are expected to do, not to ask. But, this being a general staff, there are some men at NATO who coordinate action with thought, routine with anticipation, today with tomorrow. With some of these officers I have discussed the prospects of NATO. When in reporting the essence of these conversations I won't sound especially serene, it is a fault of neither the NATO officers (who toil in their jobs with impeccable loyalty) nor of this reporter (who would like nothing better than to suggest that everybody is going to live happily forever after). It is the fault of the unfriendliness of a world in which icy winds keep blowing from the East with ever-increasing velocity.

NATO's Reason For Existence . . .

NATO policy (to begin my story at the middle) is being set not in Fontainebleau but in Washington (or, as the matter may be, at the golf course of Augusta). The NATO officers may add a few trimmings to the whats and whys of NATO planning. The decisive factor remains what Mr. Eisenhower intends to do about the Soviets. And right now, no truly thoughtful NATO

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officer doubts that Mr. Eisenhower *seriously* proposes atomic disarmament, provided the Soviets and the United States can agree on methods of a mutually satisfying inspection system. This one fact prejudices every single step of NATO. It makes its existence altogether problematic.

The central prerequisite, the intellectual foundation of the whole NATO concept, was from the beginning, as it is now, the axiomatic assumption that we shall stay atomically armed. Because we *do* possess atomic weapons, we decided to construct a mere skeleton of any army to secure, not Europe as such, but merely the atomic bases of Europe against a Soviet onslaught. No sane military mind can ascribe to NATO a more ambitious job. Under United States leadership, the contributing NATO powers have programmed for 1961 a total force of thirty NATO divisions — to confront the eighty-two Soviet divisions that are currently poised against the West, plus the four hundred Soviet divisions that can be set going within a month after the outbreak of hostilities. At the moment (and most likely throughout 1959) about eighteen NATO divisions are actually employed against such overwhelming Soviet superiority in troops—superiority at a ratio of about five to one in ready manpower, of twenty-seven to one a month after a conflagration started.

This, under normal conditions, would be rightly considered the survival chances of a maniac suicide. And yet, sound NATO strategists were perfectly willing to take these chances for one; and only one, forceful reason: as NATO would remain equipped with atomic weapons, and would merely serve as a protective shield for the atomic bases,

the manpower proportions on both sides do not really matter. The military establishment of the West could be considered adequate once it was big enough to hold those bases against any surprise attack. The rest would be up to the Strategic Air Command.

May Cease To Exist . . .

Now think what would happen if the Soviets suddenly accepted Mr. Eisenhower's honest offer to disarm atomically, under mutual disarmament controls! Well, responsible NATO officials *have* begun to think about this nightmare; and here is what they come up with.

In the first place, they think it *entirely feasible* that the Soviets will grasp the ultimate advantage which an atomic disarmament, under *serious* mutual inspection, would offer them. In the past, the Soviets showed a primitive, ritualistic horror in regard to foreign controls on their territory; and Western diplomats got used to reckoning with that Soviet repugnance as an unchangeable fact of international life. But it isn't. The post-Stalin Communist leaders have given abundant evidence that they are perfectly capable of taking another look at practically anything. One day they will most certainly ponder, with characteristic freshness, the promises of atomic disarmament, in counterbalance to traditional Soviet revulsions against foreign observers on Soviet soil. And if they do, they are bound to discover that the presence of a few United States control commissions in the Soviet Union (even if they were not impeded in motion and observation) is as nothing compared to the gigantic change in the international balance of power a serious atomic disarmament must unflinchingly produce. To overlook this, the Soviet

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leadership would have to be blind. And we have not the slightest reason to presume that it is.

And So May NATO . . .

NATO strategists, in short, reckon with a sudden Soviet acceptance of Mr. Eisenhower's atomic disarmament proposal as a distinct possibility and even a realistic probability. If it happens—what then happens to NATO, to Europe, to the West? On this, there is a difference of opinion within NATO. Some strategists think it would mean NATO's immediate demise, Europe's immediate surrender to the Soviets, the immediate end of the West. The other school of thought assumes the demise, the surrender, the end would not be immediate but piecemeal. And there is no third school of thought.

The argument anticipating a dramatically fast decline of NATO, Europe, and the West goes something like this. As long as both sides possess atomic weapons, the likelihood of atomic consequences precludes a frontal Soviet attack. For, even if the immensely superior Soviet army could crush the eighteen to thirty NATO divisions in a few weeks, the continuous atomic counterattack would have in the meantime rendered the occupied territory uninhabitable; would have destroyed the supply lines between the Red Army and the Soviet Union; and would have, above all, turned decisive Soviet regions into radioactive ashes. Therefore, because it cannot pay, a Soviet attack has not yet materialized. But if there are *no* dangers of an atomic reprisal, once *both* sides have effectively dismantled their atomic establishments under working mutual controls, then Europe sinks unavoidably under the gigantic weight of a "conventional" Soviet army

that outnumbers the West, first, five to one and, a month later, twenty-seven to one. Even more: A responsible European government, *any* responsible European government (i.e., not at all a "neutralist" or Quisling type of government), would *have* to come to fast terms with the Soviet Union *before* the inescapable avalanche came down on their country. For while an individual can heroically decide to die for a hopeless cause, a nation must not. A nation, once resistance has become intellectually inconceivable and theoretically hopeless, must surrender. A serious and mutually guaranteed atomic disarmament of both sides makes West-European resistance against a Soviet attack intellectually inconceivable and theoretically hopeless. Thus, immediate surrender.

Not so, says the other school of thought at NATO. Or, rather, not so fast. If the Western nations are indeed so anxious to be freed of atomic apprehensions, they surely must be willing to pay the price. Now the price can be exactly stated: it would have to be the willingness of the Western nations, in exchange for atomic disarmament, to expand their "conventional" armament several times over. To be precise (say the coolly calculating NATO officers), the Western nations would have to keep a minimum of eighty to one hundred divisions in fighting posture, plus a minimum of another two hundred divisions ready for action one month after the fight began. In other words, the Red Army can be checked in Europe even after an effective atomic disarmament—if the NATO nations are willing to increase their current "conventional" military establishments from five to fifteen times their present size. And not in some

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distant future, but immediately.

And The Nations Which Comprise It . . .

At this point, the adherents of the other NATO school of thought cut in caustically: "Do you really think democracies can shoulder that kind of permanent mobilization in peacetime, perhaps for a whole generation or two, and yet remain democracies?" This objection, I must report, scores heavily. The only rational answer I've heard to this one is, I'm sorry to say, irrational; namely the academic proposal that, under such circumstances, democracies may prefer becoming something else rather than going under completely. And as NATO officers are much too polite to suggest the introduction of authoritarian regimes, the advocates of the more serene perspective soon lose their cause in debate. For both sides can agree on these four conclusions: (1) after atomic disarmament the Western nations can survive only if they increase their "conventional" military establishments fivefold to fifteenfold; (2) no democratic society can survive such a total submission to military needs in peacetime; (3) it is therefore unlikely that the NATO nations, immediately following an atomic disarmament, will supply the required minimum of eighty to one hundred poised and two hundred reserve divisions; (4) therefore, an atomic disarmament means the end of the West.

This, against the incredibly beautiful background of Fontainebleau's blooming gardens, was the essence of my talks with wise NATO officers. Perhaps I should have told you more about the magic light that was playing on the lilacs and kept caressing the yellow walls of the chateau. But, to me, these hours

were forever soaked with the ash gray of decline.

* * *

On The Italian Scene . . .

I know better than to predict the results of the Italian elections in a report that will be published a long time after the event (May 25). But the last several weeks have disclosed deep fissures in Italy's socio-political structure that will remain open, and will fester, no matter where the voters happen to go. Two trends seem momentous above all: (1) the Nenni-Togliatti Left has shown an unrelenting hold on about one-third of the Italian people; (2) the Christian Democratic Party has shown its own deep division that is bound to grow into an explosive incompatibility between the two wings.

The Christian-Democrats have never recovered from De Gasperi's death (a fact that should send shivers down the spine of German Christian-Democrats who, some day, are going to bury Dr. Adenauer). But even while he was still alive, the party's left wing was battling the right wing far more lustily than it ever fought the Anti-Catholic Left. And with Signor Gronchi's surprising promotion to the Presidency (with the votes of Italy's Communists) the left wing of the Christian-Democrats attained a commanding position in Italian politics. Hardly a day went by that anti-Communist Italian statesmen didn't run into some effective presidential interference. But slowly Italy awoke to the fact that the real center of anti-anti-Communism wasn't President Gronchi (much as he tried to qualify for that role). The true manager and operator of the leftist Mafia within Italy's Christian-Democracy turns out to be Signor Enrico Mattei, the shrewd, able and ruthless boss of Italy's

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immense (state-owned) oil and gas concern, ENI, and the related nationalized industries.

Advances Mr. M. . . .

Signor Mattei, today very probably the most powerful man in Italy, is the author of all the dangerous schemes that have disturbed Italy's policies for the last two years. He is the man who has pushed Italy's foreign policy onto the perilous course of fraternizing with Nasser. He is the man, too, who has maneuvered President Gronchi into his (to put it mildly) ambiguous pronouncements on "neutralism." He has promoted all the confusions and uncertainties that have plagued Italy's Christian-Democratic governments in regard to the Rapacki Plan and Mr. Kennan's seductions.

Mr. M.'s power comes, simply enough, from his boldness in corrupting the governmental party with the sweet fruits of economic control. His trust is without a doubt the wealthiest economic combine in Italy—very likely richer than all of Italy's private enterprises put together. The gentleman determines the distribution of tens of thousands of lucrative jobs—and this in a country whose citizens, with a disarmingly naive cynicism, frankly admit that no political or even religious dedication could possibly compete with a person's "need for a good job." Mr. M. has many more well-paying jobs to fill than the entire Italian government. And so his power exceeds theirs.

Steadily To The Left . . .

But, as it happens, Mr. M.'s allegiance tends towards the East. Not that he is, himself, a verifiable fellow-traveler. No, he goes to Church, watches his steps, keeps his trap prudently shut in public.

But he is an intimate friend of Mr. Mikoyan, the No. 2 man in the Soviet establishment; and he has, above all, some very strong convictions on such subjects as State Capitalism, a "genuine" New Deal for Italy, Keynesian manipulation of fiscal powers, and all the rest that constitutes incorrigible Leftism. Unlike some Anglo-Saxon brethren-in-spirit, whose convictions are moderated by pale academicism, Mr. M. is a powerhouse of Machiavellian wiles. In him, an Italian Harold Ickes seems to have been stimulated by the deviousness of an Italian Harry Hopkins. He is the Italian version of F.D.R.'s Brain Trust, all wrapped in one, with all the city machines thrown in.

This dynamo of a leftist operator has now hurled his total weight into the battle over the re-orientation of Italy's governmental policies. As I said, I won't dare predict the election results a mere ten days before the votes are counted. But I do not hesitate to predict what has already happened—namely, a profound weakening of Italy's Christian-Democracy, which is damned if it forms a coalition with the Monarchists and Neo-Fascists on the right, and damned if it accepts "an opening on the left." The point is that the Christian Democratic Party simply must do one of these two things. There is no third alternative. Desperately trying to remain the country's *relatively* strongest party, it has not the slightest chance to recover the status it enjoyed under De Gasperi, as Italy's *sovereign* political power.

When the votes are in, a Cabinet will *have* to be formed. If it includes, to secure a majority, the Monarchists and Neo-Fascists, the Christian Democratic Party's left wing will not recoil from

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splitting Christian-Democracy; and any right-wing government (unless it were willing and able to suspend the constitution) would topple. Will Mr. M. succeed in driving his party into a deal with Nenni? If so, the Communists would have practically re-entered the Italian Government. And the Soviets could mark their greatest European triumph since the Czechoslovak putsch of 1947.

And In France . . .

I left a discussion of the shattering French events to the end, not because they aren't crucial (they could be the most important European story of 1958), but because I have analyzed their roots and consequences two months ago (in *AMERICAN OPINION* of May 1958). What was said there a long time before the events still holds at the time of their passing. And I beg my readers to believe me that this assertion is not meant to blow my own horn. I say it, on the contrary, with a feeling of desperate frustration. Our world, it seems to me more than ever, is going to pieces because our overlords of government and press are the "serene," the "optimistic," the "confident" type—men, in short, who stare at the silver lining while the clouds are bursting and the flood engulfs the world. Anybody, anybody at all could have seen for years now that France was moving toward a major spasm. Nobody, nobody at all reported it in the United States press; and the managers of our governmental establishment kept acting, always smiling blandly, as if the bliss of Normalcy and Prosperity would never disappear from Western Europe again.

The Flimflam Sets Off . . .

While I am writing this, it is still not

known what kind of regime will emerge from the French army upheaval in Algeria. De Gaulle has at last pronounced his readiness to assume power. This might suffice. And then again, the "center-left" parties are so deadly frightened (and, indeed, the Parisian street is in an ugly mood of lynching) that they might stiffen, at least for a while, into some kind of firmness. But if the Pflimlin crowd hangs on and rejects de Gaulle's invitation to hand the power over to him, they must end in the choking embrace of the Communist Party. The Pflimlin Government survived the very first vote in the *Chambre* only because the Communists abstained from voting; and so, actually, the Communists allowed the Government to exist. They will not remain modestly tactful very long. France has reached one of those stupidly simple crossroads of history: it will have to be either de Gaulle, based on an openly rebellious Army, or some kind of Pflimlin, based on the Communist Party of France.

A Crisis For The West . . .

This much is certain: the "quiet," the "calm," the playful years of Western prosperity are over in Europe. The metropolitan press of America may try for a few more months to suppress the fact, but it is a fact nonetheless, and it will determine the next phase of history. The Western world is in an upheaval again. France hangs on the horns of its fundamental dilemma. Italy is being "opened on the left." The only real winner of the elections in Greece were the Communists. The Labor Party is pushing into power in England. Germany is being neutralized. May everybody enjoy his vacation. It could be one of the last.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM PARIS

by

HILAIRE DU BERRIER

Elsewhere in this number (and earlier numbers) we have commented on the subtle campaign to make the United States hated everywhere in the world. It is a long-standing campaign which we believe to be spearheaded by Communists and Communist sympathizers right in Washington. And nowhere have the shadows of this conspiracy shown more clearly than behind the policies we have nourished with regard to the French troubles in North Africa.

The following article is reprinted, by permission, from the H. du B. Reports. Its author, a patriotic American from North Dakota, has lived in Paris and been a close observer of the French political scene for many years. In this report, dated May 20, 1958, he provides our readers with some true facts from the Algerian front, and an insight into both their cause and their significance, which certainly could not be obtained from our metropolitan press.

Specters and Nightmares: Your correspondent is gambling on his reader's desire for the truth instead of comfort. Most American editors do not question an out-and-out anti-French report but will neutralize or hurriedly discount any solid information about France and her Algerian problem as being pro-French or even propaganda.

On past American insistence France granted independence to Lebanon, Syria, Morocco and Tunisia. Belatedly it is recognized that those initiating the hasty procedures did not understand the perplexities of that region. Now the Algerian rebels are demanding independence, and again American officials are encouraging them.

Some Americans seem bemused by the problems that underdeveloped peoples do present to today's socially conscious world. When official, their hasty meddling and risky intrigue

interfere with the development of a practical understanding, by these inexperienced peoples, of what independence entails—that thirst for independence is just the beginning of getting it and hanging on to it!

Officially America has panicked before the word "colonialism." And our resulting policy has pushed us into forcing a production of infant states in strategic spots around the world which Communism swallows by subversion or outright aggression. With little economic and political experience to support their independence, these peoples come to hate us as they sink into anarchy or dictatorship—as specters they should haunt us.

But the *nightmare* of thinking Americans is an America, stripped of allies, and forced to go it alone. NATO is already sicker than the doctors have told the family. Britain's next government

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will be Laborite and Neutralist. Our repudiation of our allies at the time of Suez doomed Britain's government that was with us. And in France, events since Suez have increased the prestige of the army that had the situation in hand. Each succeeding month takes its toll in French respect for their government that acceded to America's ultimatum over Suez.

II

Jacques Soustelle: Monsieur Jacques Soustelle, archeologist, lives in a ground floor apartment at 85 Avenue Henri-Martin. Since the rebel Algerians placed a price on his head, two armed guards and a plain-clothes man are outside the door. Books and objects from Aztec and Inca excavations line the walls of the drawing room where the visitor waits. Monsieur Soustelle emerges from a small study off the hall. His desk there is littered with arriving letters, each one of which he reads personally. From these letters, which have inundated him since the Paris NATO Conference last December, comes a picture that is frighteningly serious. Frenchmen think they have answered President Eisenhower's plea for free world solidarity affirmatively, but that their loyalty has not been returned.

The extent to which solidarity has decreased, since that plea was made, can be judged by the circumstances of the fall of the Gaillard government on Tuesday, April 15th. Upon receipt of a note from President Eisenhower, Premier Gaillard weakened his former stiff position before the Anglo-American mediation mission in North Africa. Deputy Jacques Soustelle, long regarded as France's coming man, charged in the French Assembly that French policy

was being made in Washington. The Gaillard government fell before this attack by a vote of 321 to 255. President Eisenhower's reaction was to term the Soustelle speech "a political gimmick."

In the new mood of France, the most important piece of real estate to the West's defense in the free world, President Eisenhower's next plea for solidarity may find instead the realization of all the things strategists fear. If the collapse of western defenses starts, it will be here, in France.

Only by knowing how our allies feel and then allowing a certain amount of give as well as take are we going to keep NATO's props from caving completely. And the commodity in this give and take must be mutual consideration, not dollars. Finding out to what extent Deputy Soustelle was speaking for his country would seem to be a more responsible approach than President Eisenhower's attempt to play down that speech.

France's army and her "man in the street" feel sold out—their country has leaned over backwards to please America and it has brought neither American respect nor good will. Whether Americans agree or not with this French conclusion is incidental. Of prime importance is the fact that the *basis* for their reaction has gone unaired before American public opinion — too often French feelings have been oversimplified as just "anti-American."

Time-Life (April 28th) pictured Jacques Soustelle as anti-American, an assassin of governments. However, the *Wall Street Journal* (April 25th) quite frankly discussed the difference between America's declared policy toward our NATO partner, France, and our *backstage maneuvering* with her enemy, the revolutionary Algerian F. L. N. (Front

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de la Libération Nationale). This paper's reporting also bears out Jacques Soustelle's remarks, making his words anything but "a gimmick." The paper reports an American official as saying, "It would not do to administer too much of a shock but we want to put the French on notice that any new government they come up with will have to take a more liberal line on Algeria if it wants to get along with us." How do self-respecting Americans feel about being represented by officials whose irresponsibility leads them to such "dollar" insolence toward an ally? France is our partner—not a satellite!

III

The Algerian Problem: French reactions this week, in both France and Algeria, seem to be anticipating a coming change in United States official policy. The change would replace our official and unofficial *backstage direction* of the rebels in securing their demands from our ally, France, with *open American support* of the Algerian rebels' demands for independence!

We have not fooled the French people nor their Army. America has been surreptitiously aiding and abetting the F. L. N. to continue their struggle—thus we have strengthened their will to resist and to make their demands so unconscionable as to be unnegotiable.

The grievances of the French Army in North Africa deserve an American airing and fair consideration before we again adopt a policy as divisive as our actions concerning Nasser's seizure of Suez have proven.

On June 22, 1956, French Captain Moureau, a career officer and Arabic language specialist, was kidnapped with three other officers by the Moroccan

National Liberation Army. They were at French posts recognized by treaty. Reports drifted in that Moureau, with his eyes put out, was being shown from village to village in a cage. March, Amena and Cacciaquera are believed dead but all French demands for information from King Mohammed V have met a blank wall.

The "Moureau affair" was not mentioned in the American press. The French government, fearful of cries of "colonialism" and "menacing Morocco with American arms" did not lift a finger. *French soldiers and their parents feel that these enemy atrocities have been accepted by their weak officials rather than risk measures that might offend the U.S.A.—that Frenchmen are expendable as Americans are not.* The French recall our American reaction to the imprisonment of American aviators by Red China. Our public opinion insisted on knowing whether our men were alive and where they were. [It did so only half-heartedly, and one-tenth successfully. Editor.]

"If NATO is important," says your Frenchman, "is not the loss of good French officers a concern of America, too?" When Mohammed V visited Washington last winter, had our government asked the King, on the human level, to do what he could to relieve the anxiety of those officers' families, it would have thawed the French army's feelings and provided an "out" for the King. He could then have pointed out to the irresponsible National Liberation Army that Moroccan prestige, as well as his own, was at stake with America. But the Moureau affair was not mentioned! Against this morale-destroying background the French army was assigned its difficult task in Algeria.

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IV

Enter Sakiet: The frontier village of Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef has long been a haven from which the Algerian F. L. N. has made raids with impunity. (American reporting has implied that it was "a belief" or "assumption" of the French that it was an Algerian sanctuary—a reportorial device used for clouding the truth and bitterly resented by those French suffering the raids.) On January 11, 1958, a dawn raid from Sakiet developed into a battle, about three miles from the Tunisian border, that lasted from 6:30 A.M. until 1:00 P.M. Five soldiers of the 12th French Infantry, on duty at the frontier, were captured. One died, the other four were taken to Sakiet and then brought back into Algeria. To the army it could become another "Moureu Affair," this time in Tunisia. French permission to retaliate was given.

Some 30,000 French troops patrol this Tunisian-Algerian border, nerves harassed and tempers frayed by 5,000 rebel Algerians who fall on outposts at night — then withdraw to Tunisian asylum, protected by a "one-way street" of international law! Friday afternoon, February 7, French patrol planes were fired on from gun emplacements in Sakiet. This was the 30th such attack in a period of five months. Captain Bernon, Commander of an Alsatian Company, walked down to the Tunisian border post on the banks of a stream, and informed the Tunisian officer there, "This is not to happen again. If it does we will take action." The Tunisian officer saluted and turned away without replying.

The following morning, February 8, 1958 at 9:05 A.M. a French Ouragon plane patrolled the Algerian side of the

frontier. The guns in Sakiet opened up — smoke began to pour from one of the plane's motors. It managed a landing at Tebessa. One hour and forty-five minutes later eleven B26's (purchased from America, not given), six Corsairs, and eight Mistrals took off from Bone, Telergma and Tebessa. Rendezvous: Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef. Objectives: (1) an abandoned iron mine a mile and a half from the village, whose galleries had become a barracks and arms depot for Algerians being trained and outfitted there; and (2) the seven anti-aircraft machine gun emplacements in the village center. French military intelligence insists that the school was a headquarters of the F. L. N.

The anti-French wave stirred up was vicious—the American press, reaching back into a far-away past for Tunisian grievances, made no mention of the grievances of France, our NATO ally, nor that her officer gave that final warning on February 7th.

In Paris Premier Gaillard and Edgar Faure learned of the raid over luncheon coffee; Minister of National Defense Chaban Delmas heard early in the afternoon, and Foreign Affairs Minister Pineau did not know until the following morning.

Minister of Algerian Affairs, Monsieur Lacoste, telephoned General Raoul Salan, the French Commander-in-Chief in Algeria. To Minister Lacoste's questions General Salan replied that a ground operation would have produced street-fighting and use of artillery, with heavier losses, and French parachutists would have been picked off like pigeons by the enemy if ordered to their chutes. Minister Lacoste ended it: "We shall continue to retaliate but the manner will be decided in Paris and not by local

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commanders."

To the army this was notice that nothing effective would be done unless they took a determined stand with their own government. Both the colonials and the French at home, whose sons are the twenty-year-old conscripts being sacrificed by half measures, support the army's position. Americans, who remember back to Korea and the Yalu, will hear an echo in their own hearts of the distress of these French fathers and mothers.

Months ago *H. du B. Reports* (see letters of August 5, December 2, and February 3) warned of the state of mind in both France and Algeria. The complexities and strains producing the events of this week compel America's

most serious attention. Reporting, either careless or deliberate, that characterizes these outraged colonials and French citizens as mobs inviting anarchy, or that presents the French army as irresponsibly flouting civilian direction, reflects a child's comprehension of the situation. Good will between France and America will do much more for Algeria in the long run than American involvement in support of Algerian rebel demands for independence. What will the rebels do with Algeria if they get control? They would not know how to develop the country. Or is American foreign aid to support their independence in a style to which they wish to become accustomed?

The Spoiled Child and His Inheritance

In Scribner's 1952 edition, page 624, of Thomas Wolfe's widely-circulated novel, *Look Homeward, Angel*, appears this paragraph:

"Yet, Eugene was no rebel. He had no greater need for rebellion than have most Americans, which is none at all. He was quite content with any system which might give him comfort, security, enough money to do as he liked, and freedom to think, eat, drink, love, read, and write what he chose. And he did not care under what form of government he lived — Republican, Democrat, Tory, Socialist, or Bolshevik — if it could assure him these things. He did not want to reform the world, or to make it a better place to live in; his whole conviction was that the world was full of pleasant places, if he could only go and find them."

The fictional character, Eugene Gant, bears the stamp of many an intellectual in America today.

Is it necessary that an artist should be blithely supercilious about the government which affords him the rich privileges and pleasures just enumerated? Is any American exempt from the stern dictum (which Eugene would probably call a *cliché*) that eternal vigilance is the price of freedom?

Why should any one, artist or artisan, take life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for granted? These things are denied most of the world's inhabitants.

There are times when one who would survive, and remain a free citizen, must resist threats of serfdom; must be a rebel against tyranny. The Kremlin would like to have us all float along as did Eugene, aloof from the mechanics of government, accepting our rich heritage but not protecting it. And that is exactly what entirely too many Americans are doing. *Elizabeth Staples*

A Review Of The News

by

HUBERT KREGLOH

In May, 1958 . . .

→ Vice-President Richard Nixon, accompanied by Mrs. Nixon, travelled through eight South American countries. The trip was marked by extraordinary demonstrations of hostility against Mr. Nixon and the United States in Peru, Colombia, and — especially — Venezuela. Demonstrators spat at Mr. Nixon, threw rocks, sticks, and bottles, tore and trampled on our flag, as police often seemed passive. While Communists apparently were the organizers, the demonstrations nevertheless reflected deep-rooted and widespread feelings. Coupled with anti-American demonstrations in many other parts of the world, the incidents pointed to the bankruptcy of an Administration foreign policy advertised as winning for us "friends and allies" and "combating Communism."

→ France went through her worst crisis since World War II. The newly formed government of Pierre Pflimlin was immediately challenged by the French residents and the military in Algeria, and by portions of the Navy. Millions of Frenchmen, desperately seeking a solution for the Algerian debacle, called for leadership from World War II hero and symbol of French resistance, General Charles de Gaulle. With the backing of President Coty, who offered the alternatives of de Gaulle or a Communist-dominated "Popular Front," the General emerged

on the last day of the month as the leader of a new, apparently more authoritarian government.

→ On a TV program, multi-millionaire Cyrus E. Eaton declared that Communists in the United States existed only "in the minds of those on the payroll of the FBI." He compared the FBI with Hitler's Gestapo and denounced all investigations of Communism. Eaton, long an admirer of the Soviet Union and a "modern" Republican, who recently entertained Soviet Ambassador and Mrs. Menshikov on his estate, spoke under the auspices of the leftist FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, whose parent organization is the FORD FOUNDATION. On the day of this TV program, FBI director Hoover was quoted as having told a House Appropriations Subcommittee of his deep concern about the manner in which the law courts have been aiding the Red Conspiracy in recent years.

→ Several hours of knifings, beatings, and robberies in Boston by teenagers who had attended a monster "Rock 'n Roll" show caused authorities all over the country to wonder whether these moronic jungle concerts do not stimulate juvenile delinquency. A number of communities banned the show responsible for the Boston disturbance.

→ President Nasser of the United Arab Republic returned to a cheering Cairo from an eighteen-day state visit to the Soviet Union.

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→ At Groton, Connecticut, the atomic-powered submarine USS "Skipjack" was launched. While Navy spokesmen described it as the world's fastest, most powerful and maneuverable undersea craft, some less sanguine observers cautioned that the Soviets might be readying a few surprises of their own in this field.

→ Among prominent people who died were: Joseph E. Davies, former Ambassador (under F.D.R.) to Moscow and author of the pro-Soviet book "Mission to Moscow," in Washington, D. C. at the age of eighty-one; veteran British-born movie actor Ronald Coleman, in Santa Barbara, California, from a lung infection, at the age of sixty-seven; and Elmer Davis, leftist-liberal radio commentator and writer, chief of the Office of War Information during World War II, and co-founder of ADA (Americans for Democratic Action), in Washington, D. C. at the age of sixty-eight.

→ The Soviets publicized the launching on May 15 of Sputnik III, stated by them to be by far their biggest earth satellite. The 11.9-foot cone-shaped space traveller weighs 2,919.53 pounds, according to Soviet announcements. United States experts admitted that this country will be unable to match this accomplishment (if the statistics are as claimed) for well over another year.

→ In an accident similar to one a month ago over Las Vegas, Nevada, all twelve passengers and crew members of a Capital airliner perished on May 20, when it was rammed over Maryland by a Maryland National Guard jet trainer. Sharp reaction in Congress caused President Eisenhower to sign an emergency order designed

to keep military aircraft out of the traffic lanes regularly used by commercial planes.

→ "Modern" Republican Harold E. Stassen failed in his bid to become Governor of Pennsylvania. He was decisively beaten in the GOP primary by pretzel manufacturer Arthur T. McGonigle. Many Americans hoped that this defeat would eliminate Stassen entirely from the political scene.

→ On May 27, Samuel Cardinal Stritch died in Rome at the age of seventy. The Archbishop of Chicago had suffered a cerebral stroke a week earlier, following amputation of his right arm due to a circulatory disturbance. In March, he had been the first American ever to be appointed to the Roman Curia.

→ A contingent of Cornell students protesting a tightening of regulations governing boy-girl private parties marched on the home of University President Deane W. Malott, smashed windows and pelted Dr. Malott with eggs and rocks. Many observers wondered whether the chickens of "progressive" education were not coming home to roost in educational institutions all over the country.

→ In elections in Italy, the pro-Western Christian Democratic Party remained in power but did not gain a majority. While the leftwing Communists and Socialists made some gains, extreme rightwing splinter parties appeared to be the main losers.

→ Congress raised postal rates—effective August 1, 1958. First class and air mail go up one cent each. The new law also provides for annual pay raises of \$265 million, retroactive to January 1, for the nation's 520,000 postal employees.

BULLETS

To trust the soul's invincible surmise
Was all his science and his only art.

George Santayana

* * *

We judge ourselves by what we feel
capable of doing; others judge us by
what we have done. *Longfellow*

* * *

Washington, D. C. is the only insane
asylum in the world that is run by the
inmates. *A Former Congressman*

* * *

The only way to have a friend is to
be one. *Emerson (And he didn't
say "... is to buy one.")*

* * *

A fool and his money don't make out
much worse than the average guy these
days. *A "Parting" Thought*

* * *

Dean of Women, at coeducational
school: "The president of this univer-
sity and I have decided to stop petting
on this campus." *Rapid Service Press*

* * *

Prisoner in penitentiary: "I was mak-
ing big money — about a quarter of an
inch too long." *Imp*

* * *

Behind every successful man there's
a woman — constantly telling him he's
not so hot.

Washington Post-Times Herald

* * *

A young man received the following
letter from his girl: "I must explain
that I was only joking when I wrote
that I didn't mean what I said about re-
considering my decision not to change
my mind. I really mean this."

Good Business

* * *

In politics, he who sows boredom
will reap defeats. *William S. Schlamm*

From a biography of President
Chester A. Arthur: The most pressing
questions had to do with the large and
embarrassing surplus revenues in the
national treasury. This surplus, for the
four fiscal years 1879-82, averaged over
eighty million a year.

Sixty-six Ninety-nine

* * *

The more the Government does for
you, the more it does to you.

Theodore Roosevelt, Jr.

* * *

My eyes make pictures, when they
are shut. *S. T. Coleridge*

* * *

You have heard that vaudeville died?
Well, television is the box they put it
in. *But They Forgot To Bury It*

* * *

Workingman, to bystander: "What
do I do here, Mac? They just hired me,
but all we talked about was wages,
hours, overtime, vacations, bonuses, and
pensions." *Lichty*

* * *

The mere defensive is doomed to
defeat. *Napoleon*

* * *

The press reports that Pravda now
contends that a Russian invented the
streetcar. What's a streetcar?

Cincinnati Enquirer

* * *

You can preach a better sermon with
your life than with your lips.

By Whom?

* * *

I held it truth with him who sings
To one clear harp in divers tones
That men may rise on stepping
stones

Of their dead selves to higher things.

Tennyson

We Pause To Remark...

A SMALL AIRPLANE is now being sold in kit form for
assembly by the owner. Owners who make mistakes in their
home work will themselves be assembled by the undertaker.

* * *

During the Klondike gold-rush days, Wilson Mizner was
once approaching a saloon when a man came running out,
followed immediately by another man with a gun in his hands.
The pursuer shot his victim dead, on the frozen ground prac-
tically at Mizner's feet. "Why?" asked Mizner, who knew both
parties. "Because," replied the man with the gun, "he insulted
my girl, Sal." Mizner, who also knew Sal, and whose wit was
exceeded only by his profanity, drove his next question right to
the crux of the case. "For God's sake, how?" he asked.

We thought of that story on reading that John A. Baker,
second secretary of the United States Embassy in Moscow, had
been expelled by the Soviets for violating Soviet standards of
diplomatic behavior.

* * *

And we were reminded of another story on reading the
long-running debate-by-mail between Attorney Robert Mont-
gomery and Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., over the
errors of fact concerning the Sacco-Vanzetti case in Schles-
inger's so-called history, *Crisis of the Old Order*. This wasn't
really a story, however, but the most incisive epigram of the
year, for the recording of which we are indebted to our favorite
weekly, *National Review*:

Ezra Pound was lamenting the fate of a historian who had
been banished to obscurity by the liberal educationists. "Poor
fellow," said Pound, "he committed accuracy."

* * *

This item belongs in the Now-We-Have-Heard-Every-
thing Department. Glamor-Boy Menshikov, the Kremlin's am-
bassador to Washington (without a drop of the blood of his

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Polish victims now staining his immaculate shirt front) has just shown the kindness of his heart. He has offered to have Soviet Russia help the United States out of its economic recession! As soon as that little chore of the Good Samaritan has been performed, we assume the agents of the enlightened Soviet will be glad to come over and teach the benighted Americans how to hold a free election. It's wonderful to have such friends!

* * *

We note the glee with which the "liberals" are drooling at the mouth over the supposedly poor showing of Bill Knowland in the California primaries. To suggest that these liberals modulate their ecstasy with caution, however, we remind them that in 1952 Knowland won his present senate seat by the largest vote ever cast for any candidate for any office in any election in any state in the history of our country. And despite some clever but extensive "knifing" of him behind the scenes, which we believe has been and will be indulged in by some of his "modern" Republican "friends," we predict that he will win the California governorship by a heavy majority.

* * *

On April 23, in Scranton, Pennsylvania, Harold Stassen was asked whether, if elected governor of Pennsylvania in 1958, he would serve out a four-year term. He replied that he could not make any such guarantee, because of the possibility that a new Republican president in 1960 might want him, Stassen, to become secretary of state. Childe Harold can now breathe a sigh of relief since one-half of such a conflict for his services has been eliminated. And if he will just tell us what candidate for the presidency would consider him for secretary of state, that possibility will also be eliminated (automatically), and we can *all* breathe a sigh of relief.

* * *

In November, 1956 Mr. Richard Nixon announced that the Hungarian uprising marked the beginning of the end of the Soviet tyranny. We do not wish to be too hard on our Vice-

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President, even for having spouted such nonsense, for he has just been through a horrible ordeal in South America, during most of which he handled himself extremely well. But we do hope that ordeal itself convinced him of the folly of looking at the Communist conspiracy with the eyes of a political Pollyanna. The ultimate effect of the Hungarian rebellion was to make the Kremlin gang stronger, just as they had planned when they precipitated the revolt. (See the—largely suppressed—report of the UN Investigating Committee.)

* * *

In September, 1954, at a "national people's congress" in Communist China, one Shao Li-tse made a speech "Concerning the Problem of the Dissemination of Knowledge about Contraception." In this speech he gave the swallowing of live tadpoles as a most effective method of birth control. This spring, after extensive tests—and after thousands of Chinese peasant women had died of swallowing live tadpoles from contaminated ponds—the Chekiang Medical Research Institute has solemnly announced that swallowing live tadpoles not only will not stop women from bearing children, but is downright harmful.

We wonder if the Chekiang Medical Research Institute, having thus disposed of Shao Li-tse and his tadpoles, would now care to take a good look at some of the nostrums being rammed down the throats, or injected into the skins, of the American people. Since these nostrums have been promoted by government-sponsored or government-encouraged propaganda campaigns, which so much resemble the Peiping drive let loose behind contraceptives in 1954, the experience of the Chekiang crowd ought to be helpful.

* * *

We wish General Charles André Joseph Marie de Gaulle the best of success in giving France a new lease on life. For all of his fame, he is something of an enigma, and apparently nobody knows exactly where he stands on many important issues. But

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he is bitterly hated by both Jacques Duclos (leader of the French Communist Party) and former Prime Minister Pierre Mendès-France. Those two achievements—corresponding roughly to an American statesman having earned the enmity of both Earl Browder and Earl Warren—are strong points in favor of de Gaulle.

It is possible, of course, that the General may be able to give France enough renewed stability, in both the form of government and the substance of patriotism, that he will be succeeded eventually by Jacques Soustelle. And that would be a real cause for rejoicing on the part of the whole anti-Communist world.

* * *

The National Federation of Republican Women has come out with the suggestion that its members raise money for the Grand Old Party by putting on strip-tease acts in their respective communities. As the finale of a style show, following cocktails and dinner, members acting as models are to parade on runways and sell to the highest bidders—for delivery then and there—each item of accessory and clothing the model is wearing, from hat and costume jewelry right down to, and including, panties and bra. ("She wears flesh-colored tights or bathing suit" underneath, the brochure explains.)

Some readers of AMERICAN OPINION sometimes say that we are too frequently bitter over the cheapness to which the influence of this administration is reducing everything in America, from its morals to its money. We plead the above provocation as all the defense necessary. We further submit that not one in ten, of the patriotic individual women who are members of the four thousand Women's Republican Clubs, or of those women for whom the National Federation presumes to speak, would approve of this monstrous suggestion. But we are equally sure that these individual members will not have enough interest and determination to kick out of office the slick operators and "modern" Republicans who did suggest it.

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In this issue we carry an advertisement, by the publisher, of René Wormser's book, *Foundations: Their Power and Influence*. Last month we carried a highly favorable review of this book. And we wish now to recommend it again, to all patriotic Americans, as one of the most important publications of the decade. While Wormser does not say so, we have the information from an equally unquestionable source, and it seems clear just from the actions of the largest foundations themselves, that at least some of them are working on a definite program "so to change the economic and political structure of this country that it can be comfortably merged with Soviet Russia." What is more important, they are succeeding beyond the most extravagant guesses of even well-informed Americans. Read Wormser's book and judge for yourself.

* * *

We see that some good patriots have protested the serving as clam chowder, in the American tragedy at the Brussels Fair, of "a tomato concoction which has no resemblance to true clam chowder." They say that Europeans are thus being given a "misconception" of what American clam chowder really is. And that even Leverett Saltonstall has protested the display there of an ethnic map of Massachusetts, which gives Europeans the misconception that there are no people of Anglo-Saxon stock left in this part of the country.

Considering the immensely more important "misconceptions" about America being promoted at the same exhibit, these complaints are on a par with that of the proper Bostonian mother, whose small son shouted his excitement over the circus elephant with "Gee, Mom, ain't he a big son of a bitch?" "Johnny," his mother spoke sharply, "you simply must stop saying *ain't*."

We do not know where the ultimate responsibility lies, for making the United States offering at Brussels "a dull and clammy zombie" (as Dillard Stokes has so aptly described it). But we do know that America's putting its worst foot forward, in

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so many different directions within so small a compass, could not have been due to either chance or stupidity. It took exactly the same kind of skill which, in connection with our shipment of tanks to Saudi Arabia, contrived to make both the Arabians and their enemies, the Israelis, bitter towards us over the same incident.

It is obvious that there have been forces assiduously and successfully at work for years, right in our government, to make the United States look bad and Russia look good, at every opportunity all over the world. With our own money, and through our own policies and their implementation, these forces have managed to make the United States increasingly hated, and looked on with contempt, in eastern Asia, in the Middle East, in Western Europe, in South America, everywhere. And this campaign is, of course, only a part of a still larger plan.

When the conspirators set out to degrade, cheapen, and weaken the United States, ours was the greatest nation in the history of mankind: in the form of its government, in the level and solidity of its material prosperity, in the character of its self-reliant yet compassionate people; in its lack of class hatred or even class lines, in the freedom and opportunity for its individuals, in its composite outlook for ever more freedom and better times ahead, in its prestige with the people of other nations. Now all of its great traditions and characteristics and prestige are visibly being eroded, ground down and hollowed out to thin shells without substantial strength, by the abrasive and burrowing efforts of traitors and their dupes. For in the Cold War it is more important—because much easier—to pull America down to the level of Russia than to raise Russia to the level of America.

To the forces so insidiously engaged in this tremendous undertaking of willful destructiveness, it was mere child's play to arrange for the United States exhibit at the Brussels Unfair to be tawdry, flat, tasteless, and far surpassed in effectiveness by the Russian show.

THE SCOREBOARD

Our complacency in the face of a known deadly peril amounts almost to insanity. DR. FREDERICK SCHWARZ

AT THE LAST CONGRESS of International Communism, just before World War II, delegates from all the Communist Parties of the world represented a total of slightly more than four million members. But in November, 1957, at the triumphant meeting in Moscow to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, delegates came from seventy-five Communist Parties, with thirty-three million members. This is approximately an *eight hundred percent expansion* in the twenty years. And that is just about the rate of growth of Communist power throughout the world during that time, no matter from what angle you measure it, or with what unit of comparison.

Since the Communist masters do not have — nor want — but from one to five percent of any subject population as members of the actual party, we can assume three to four percent as a rough average. These thirty-three million party members, therefore constitute the hard core of tyranny over almost a billion subjugated people. This figure is confirmed by our information from many other sources. But twenty years ago the total Communist-ruled population was only around a hundred and twenty-five million. And practically all of the huge difference has been added since the end of the war.

From the summer of 1945 to the summer of 1958 the Communists have averaged adding to their empire seven thousand newly enslaved subjects

every hour. We have quoted these statistics many times before—as in the first of these “Look At The Score” articles which appeared nearly a year ago. But permit us to repeat them again. And let us remind you that these people — of Czechoslovakia or of China or wherever they may be—have the same love for their families, think of concentration camps with the same despairing horror, and feel exactly the same pain under torture, as do you and I. Seven thousand more human beings, just like ourselves, have been brought under the incredibly brutal rule of a Communist police state, on the average, *every hour*, twenty-four hours of every day, 365 days of every year, for the past thirteen years. And today this rate of conquest and enslavement is steadily increasing.

A far-flung and insidious tide may not even seem to be rising, at any specific spot briefly watched. But the rate of its rise can be determined, by measurements made at long enough intervals—as we have done above. And how much it has already climbed up the sides, and seeped into the eddies, of areas once firm and dry, can also be noted. We set out to estimate how far the Communist tide had gone, percentage-wise, towards swallowing up such areas entirely. Our observations for that purpose have been as conscientious and objective as we could make them. We present their results, on the next two pages, in *The American Opinion Scoreboard* for 1958.

The American Opinion Scoreboard

In the following tabulation we have undertaken to estimate the present degree of Communist influence or control over the economic and political affairs of almost all of the "nations" of the world. (The omissions have been due to lack of size, importance, or autonomy.) The chief source of such control or influence may be Communist-run labor unions (as in Uruguay), or Communist sympathizers in government (as in India), or powerful Communist political parties (as in Italy), or highly successful Communist agitation and propaganda (as in Mexico). The total extent of Communist control or influence over any country, however, is due to the impact of all Communist pressures, direct and indirect, visible and undercover, working together. In most cases, of course, that total cannot be measured with any exactness. But we believe the appraisals given below to be conservative, as of June 1, 1958.

It is only when this scoreboard is compared with any similar one, which might have been compiled as recently as 1952, that its significance becomes so shockingly apparent. The progress of the International Communist Conspiracy has now become so great and so rapid that the Kremlin's biggest concern is no longer guns or butter. It is how to keep the remainder of the free world, and especially the people of the United States, from realizing the speed and certainty with which the Communists are completing their conquest of the planet. We intend to publish a revised scoreboard once a year until the conspiracy is entirely successful or has been entirely destroyed.

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE

As A Percentage Of Total Control

1. Aden	20 - 40	19. Chile	40 - 60
2. Afghanistan	80 - 100	20. Communist China	100
3. Albania	100	21. Nationalist China	0 - 20
4. Argentina	40 - 60	22. Colombia	20 - 40
5. Australia	0 - 20	23. Costa Rica	20 - 40
6. Austria	20 - 40	24. Cuba	40 - 60
7. Belgian Congo	0 - 20	25. Czechoslovakia	100
8. Belgium	20 - 40	26. Denmark	20 - 40
9. Bolivia	40 - 60	27. Dominican Republic	0 - 20
10. Brazil	40 - 60	28. East Germany	100
11. Britain	20 - 40	29. Ecuador	0 - 20
12. British Guiana	80 - 100	30. Egypt	100
13. Bulgaria	100	31. El Salvador	20 - 40
14. Burma	60 - 80	32. Ethiopia	60 - 80
15. Cambodia	80 - 100	33. Finland	60 - 80
16. Canada	20 - 40	34. France	40 - 60
17. Central African Federation	0 - 20	35. French Equatorial Africa	20 - 40
18. Ceylon	60 - 80	36. French Togoland	40 - 60
		37. French West Africa	40 - 60

The Scoreboard

38. Ghana	80 - 100	72. Outer Mongolia	100
39. Greece	40 - 60	73. Pakistan	20 - 40
40. Guatemala	60 - 80	74. Panama	60 - 80
41. Haiti	20 - 40	75. Paraguay	0 - 20
42. Honduras	40 - 60	76. Peru	20 - 40
43. Hungary	100	77. Philippines	20 - 40
44. Iceland	80 - 100	78. Poland	100
45. India	60 - 80	79. Portugal	0 - 20
46. Indonesia	80 - 100	80. Roumania	100
47. Iran	20 - 40	81. Saudi Arabia	60 - 80
48. Iraq	20 - 40	82. Sierra Leone	20 - 40
49. Ireland	0 - 20	83. Singapore	60 - 80
50. Israel	40 - 60	84. Somalia	40 - 60
51. Italy	40 - 60	85. South Korea	0 - 20
52. Japan	20 - 40	86. South Vietnam	40 - 60
53. Jordan	20 - 40	87. Soviet Union	100
54. Kenya	20 - 40	88. Spain	0 - 20
55. Laos	80 - 100	89. Sudan	20 - 40
56. Lebanon	40 - 60	90. Sweden	20 - 40
57. Liberia	20 - 40	91. Switzerland	20 - 40
58. Libya	60 - 80	92. Syria	100
59. Luxembourg	20 - 40	93. Tanganyika	20 - 40
60. Madagascar	20 - 40	94. Thailand	40 - 60
61. Malaya	40 - 60	95. Tibet	80 - 100
62. Mexico	40 - 60	96. Tunisia	80 - 100
63. Morocco	60 - 80	97. Turkey	0 - 20
64. Nepal	60 - 80	98. Uganda	20 - 40
65. Netherlands	0 - 20	99. Union of South Africa	0 - 20
66. New Zealand	0 - 20	100. United States	20 - 40
67. Nicaragua	20 - 40	101. Uruguay	40 - 60
68. Nigeria	20 - 40	102. Venezuela	20 - 40
69. North Korea	100	103. West Germany	0 - 20
70. North Vietnam	100	104. Yemen	80 - 100
71. Norway	40 - 60	105. Yugoslavia	100

THE OVER-ALL RECKONING

Basic Communist strategy for conquest of the world, as laid out thirty-five years ago and relentlessly followed ever since, consisted of three steps: (1) Take eastern Europe; (2) next take the masses of Asia; (3) then take the rest of the world, including the United States. The Communists completed their first step in 1950; the second step is now about three-fourths accomplished; and they have gone at least one-fourth of the way towards carrying out their third step. Which means that the Communists have now covered about two-thirds of the total distance to their final goal of world-wide dominion. And the momentum and the speed of their progress are steadily increasing.

A Footnote To No. 100

Naturally we expect controversy over our score for the United States. But all we can do here is to point to a few gauges where the markers support our appraisal.

One such indicator shows the Communist domination of the unions which control many strategic parts of our economy and our defense. Just for an instance, seventy-five vital links in the most secret communications of our government, including those of the Pentagon to Air Force bases in New York, Maine, England, Canada, and Newfoundland, are all available to the members of one union, the American Communications Association. But this union was kicked out of the CIO in 1950, as being too Communist even for that outfit. In May, 1957, the president of this union and five other officials and members invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned about Communist membership. Yet the members of this union are—and for years have been—in position to put their hands on any and all messages over these top-secret channels of our government's own communications system.

The significant point of the above paragraph is that this door of betrayal is known to be wide open, and nobody—in Congress, in the executive branch, in the Pentagon itself—nobody even dares to try to close it. That is one indication of how powerful the Communist influence has now become in almost all of our federal agencies. A twenty-five-year career man in our State Department resigned two years ago, to tell the American people in his book, *Inside The State Department*, of the treasonous falsification of information concerning our foreign affairs which is going on there all of the time. And the Communist influence over our mass media of communication—press, radio, television—is so great that you probably never even heard of his book.

The best informed authorities say that there are at least thirty huge Communist espionage rings operating in this country today, against the only two or three that have been partly exposed. Every delegation from Russia, in the "cultural exchange" program, is known to be loaded with active spies, and expansion of this program is constantly urged by our government. Known Communists of important rank have been walking right into our country by the dozens without any documents at all, through our Miami immigration office, thumbing their noses at our immigration officials as they do so—under a special ruling by

our State Department. There are three to five million aliens illegally in our country right now, and our government is steadily breaking down our immigration barriers further.

J. Edgar Hoover himself has said that beyond any doubt secret Communist agents have worked themselves into thousands of strategic positions in our whole national life, ready to step out and act for Mother Russia when the time comes. All really effective exposure of these espionage rings and agents has now been stopped, by smearing into death, defeat, retirement or despair those legislators who were most determined to expose them. For the FBI to name such agents that it could specifically identify, even with conclusive evidence, would be an exercise in frustrating futility, damaging only the FBI itself. Supreme Court decisions have made prosecution of Communist conspirators, even those actively advocating violent overthrow of our government, almost impossible; and have restored scores of known Communist sympathizers to their former jobs within our federal bureaucracy.

But—as Hoover again has pointed out—our danger from actual Communist agents is far surpassed by the danger from vast numbers of American pseudo-liberals who carry the ball for the Communists on every play. Communist sympathies and even actual Communist subversion are daily made more respectable by the actions of our government, of our great universities, of most of our press, and by the complacency of our people. The surest way to honor and promotion, in much of our educational world, in several of our great church organizations, and even in political careers in many states, is to join Communist fronts or to show a pro-Communist slant—and the surest way to obscurity is openly to oppose Communism. The highest officials of our government break the heart of resistance to Communism, both here and abroad, by fraternizing with the Kremlin murderers in summit conferences, and by felicitous expressions of friendly regard on every feasible occasion. And this whole all-pervasive Communist influence is spreading and reaching deeper month by month.

We believe that the Communists have already gone more than twenty percent of the way towards taking us over. We do not believe that their influence has yet reached forty percent of total control. And we believe that the bracket which we have assigned to the United States on this scoreboard is correct.

RECOMMENDED READING

J. Edgar Hoover:	<i>Masters Of Deceit</i>	(Holt)
Robert Morris:	<i>No Wonder We Are Losing</i>	(Bookmailer)
René Wormser:	<i>Foundations</i>	(Devin-Adair)
Col. Victor J. Fox:	<i>The Pentagon Case</i>	(Freedom Press, Inc.)
Lewis A. Aleson:	<i>Mental Robots</i>	(Caxton)
Col. Kenneth K. Hansen:	<i>Heroes Behind Barbed Wire</i>	(Van Nostrand)
Edward J. Rozek:	<i>Allied Wartime Diplomacy</i>	(Wiley)
John C. Caldwell:	<i>South Of Tokyo</i>	(Regnery)
Rosalie Gordon:	<i>Nine Men Against America</i>	(Devin-Adair)

HOW TO READ THE FEDERALIST

by

HOLMES ALEXANDER

This is the fourth in a series of twelve essays by Mr. Alexander on the Federalist Papers. They will all appear serially in this magazine.

IV

WHEN THE PURITANS SAID "Trust God—but keep your powder dry," they were putting first things first. Trust in the Lord is traditionally more important to America than the defenses, military and materialistic, against real and imagined perils.

Early Americans believed—and we should revive this credo—that all our man-made protections won't save us if ever our reliance on the Almighty is lost. Indeed, that loss would make national self-defense useless and an enemy attack unnecessary, for we would be already goners as a nation and a people.

Are we nearing that death-like condition? Have we lost touch with God? The plain evidence is that we Americans have wandered a long way, and in manners which perhaps we do not know, from the faith of our fathers. These commentaries—like the famous Papers of Hamilton, Madison and Jay—constitute a secular document, a political tract, if you will; certainly nothing describable as a sermon. But it just isn't possible to understand America, to write about her or to love her, without acknowledgment that she was in the beginning and in her finest hours, as Lincoln phrased it, a nation "under God."

This doesn't mean, and never did, that we claim to be God's chosen people. It means that we have chosen God. It means and will mean, so long as we remain a nation, that we Americans have taken God as the foundation rock for our political philosophy and for our nationalism. Nobody ever claimed that the Declaration and Constitution were handed

down from Sinai like the Decalogue. But it's incontestable that our sacred documents were written in the light of Christian belief to almost the same extent that the State Papers of Communism were written in the brimstone glow of Marx's dialectic materialism.

American religio-political tradition can be documented with massive and ancient records. They go back to the first Thanksgiving Day in 1631 and extend through hundreds of proclamations — messages, addresses and resolutions — by the Continental Congress, General George Washington, the Congress of the Confederation, the national Congress, the Governors and Legislatures of the States, Federal and Confederate armies in the field and navies at sea. As a nation we are so used to seeing "In God We Trust" on our coins, to asking grace at our dinner tables, to saying prayers before court and legislative sessions, to taking solemn oaths before God, that it all becomes our second nature and is not regarded by us as in the least unusual. But when the United Nations was founded in 1945 and set up its international headquarters in New York City, the fact came home to us—hard. Not every nation by any means relates its political life and beliefs to God.

Academic documentation can be stupid stuff. But occasionally we Americans ought to grin and bear some. We need to look back over the centuries to see where our beginnings were in the glorious name of God. As a digested digest, this outline might do:

1. Plato was the philosopher-architect of the Greek-Roman belief that the City-State was the idealized embodiment of Goodness and Truth.
2. Christianity, which pictured man in the divine image, brought along the concept which we call "consent of the governed," a phrase first suggested by St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo.
3. Jefferson in the Declaration and Hamilton in the Constitution extended these ideas and wrote them into our basic

national charters. Both men spoke directly and often of a higher law, a set of divine principles, which overtops our mundane statutes and temporal leaders. It was Jefferson who said that "resistance to tyranny is obedience to God." And Hamilton, in *The Federalist Number 31*, wrote this incisive passage about religion-over-reason:

"In disquisitions of every kind, there are certain primary truths, or first principles, upon which all subsequent reasonings must depend. These contain an internal evidence which, antecedent to all reflection or combination, commands the assent of the mind."

In *The Federalist Number 1*, Hamilton spoke for the religio-political principle, as previously asserted by Jefferson in the Declaration, "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." The practical-minded Hamilton said the same thing in the following manner: "For in politics, as in religion, it is equally absurd to aim at making proselytes by fire and sword. Heresies in either can rarely be cured by persecution."

Throughout all of the American State Papers, both old and modern, runs the theme "truth equals freedom." Where did the equation originate if not in the Biblical text: "Ye shall know the Truth; and the Truth shall make you free"? Such were the Laws and the Prophets of the early America.

But enough of evangelizing. The modern American may want to know how the religious motivation, so vigorous in our forefathers, has petered out in later times and how—if at all—we can rediscover and resuscitate it.

First, religion for the past hundred years has been pushed from its pedestal by the popularization of science. It can't be said that Charles Darwin started it all, but it's a fact that ordinary people lost "face" when they heard that they were descended from apes instead of God. Darwin didn't quite say that, but that's how the theory of evolution got translated into the vulgate.

Then, in this country at least, the triumph of material wealth has pushed out the spiritual values. A siren of the superficial has dethroned the goddess of truth, so that we turn to statistics instead of to song, to literature and—best of all—to Nature, for our inspirational thinking. It's revolting to compare the speeches and pamphlets "proving" that we are an "underprivileged" nation with the simple prayers of the Early Americans at their Thanksgiving ceremony, the only national festival like it in world history.

God was thanked, not solicited, in those days. He was praised, not blamed. The Pilgrims, the pioneers and the horse-and-buggy Americans believed that the Lord had treated them well when He allowed them opportunity to work and worship, dry powder to defend their homes and families, full hearts to rejoice and be happy, among "our templed hills." It wasn't until much later that the materialism of the More Abundant Life taught and encouraged Americans to be discontented, greedy, jealous, avaricious and demanding something-for-nothing from their Government.

Also, there's a good deal of evidence that the tear-down of religion was part of a larger conspiracy. We had the era of debunkery in which our heroes were systematically smeared as slave-breeders, non-believers, money-chasers and frauds. The destruction of veneration for American traditions seems far too calculated to be accidental. But it's a melancholy fact that we have abetted the tear-down of our own country by giving approval, sometimes vocal and sometimes silent, to the denigration of American purposes in war and peace. This country is a human institution and not infallible; but when we believed in God, we acted in His name more often than not—and, if we can rediscover our faith, we will act that way again.

Actually a return to religion may have begun with our entry into the Atomic Age. Some historians believe so, as do many other modern thinkers. But if the return is based on fear for personal safety, it is not the same as the faith of our fathers.

This latter was an infinitely more assertive and positive thing. With no pretensions at originality, these papers suggest that the heart and center of the American politico-religious code is acceptance, not rejection, of the way things are "under God." There are at least three forms of affirmation which concern us today.

(1) Acceptance, to begin with, of our natural advantages as a nation, guarded by two oceans to the East and West, and Polar wastes to the North. Even in modern times, distance is distance. These are blessings we have no moral right to belittle or to throw away. John Jay wrote at length upon this subject in *The Federalist Number 2*:

"It has often given me pleasure to observe that independent America was not composed of detached and distant territories, but that one connected, fertile, wide-spreading country was the portion of our western sons of liberty.

"Providence has in a particular manner blessed it with a variety of soils and productions, and watered it with innumerable streams for the delight and accommodation of its inhabitants.

"With equal pleasure I have often taken notice that Providence has been pleased to give this one connected country to one united people—a people descended from the same ancestry, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, attached to the same principles of government.

"This country and this people seem to have been made for each other, and it appears as if it was the design of Providence that . . . a band of brothers . . . should never be split into a number of unsocial, jealous and alien sovereignties."

(2) Acceptance, also, of the national motto "In God We Trust." It means if it means anything that God knows better how to order the Universe than we do. It is an arrogant thing

How To Read The Federalist

of us to assert after so many centuries that all injustices, inequities, poverty, pestilence and hard luck must be banished from human life. The theologians have never accounted for sin and suffering on earth except in the precise language of our national motto. Some things must be left to God.

(3) Acceptance, finally for our purposes here, of a deeper meaning in the familiar words "consent of the governed." There are mountains of evidence to indicate that the Founders meant "consent" in its obvious and literal connotation. Consent means agreement; it never meant initiation and demand. But even if the documentation were not there, the proof of the matter lies in the politico-religious tradition. The Declaration tells us that:

"All men are created equal . . . endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights" and that the purpose of government is to "secure these rights."

The Government cannot give what is already Creator-given; but Government preserves with the people's consent a set of divinely ordered blessings "for ourselves and our posterity," not by any means for others and theirs. The spirit of acceptance is the humility to confess our own limitations and the right of other people to their own form of governance.

Many other fine things flow from religious faith—loyalty, honor, kindness, veneration for what is traditional, salvation from enemies within and without. But verily, the Pilgrims were right about first things first: "Trust God—"

Cultural Note

On Page 12 of this magazine Hubert Kregeloh tells of the "several hours of knifings, beatings, and robberies in Boston by teenagers who had attended a 'Rock 'n Roll' show." The impresario of the "moronic jungle concert" which stimulated all of this juvenile barbarism was a disc jockey named Alan Freed. It should surprise nobody, therefore, to learn that the Voice of America is now "arranging to beam Alan Freed's disc jockey show to the Orient." It is so helpful to America's leadership and prestige to have the Asiatics become acquainted with the very best of our culture.

SOCIAL INSECURITY

by

ELIZABETH WEBB WILSON

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

Somewhere between George Orwell's 1984 and Edward Bellamy's 2000 A.D., we expect to see a young American mechanic come home one night, to his particular chicken coop in a government-owned slum, with an unusually happy expression on his face after eleven hours in the local boiler plant.

(The official work-day in this utopian era will be six hours. But "because of the emergency" the government will have increased it, "temporarily," some years before, to eight hours, then ten, and finally eleven. During the same period, however, in order to provide "full employment," it will have broken up half the machinery in the country; and—just for an illustration of the wisdom at work—it will have decreed that all excavating be done with hand shovels instead of steam shovels, to make more jobs. The hottest political argument of that year will be over legislation introduced by elder statesmen Hubert Humphrey and G. Mennen Williams, to reduce the size of the hand shovels by twenty-five percent, so as to "spread the work" even further.)

"Honey," the happy young mechanic will shout to his wife, as soon as he gets inside the one room which is the total home of the family, "it's wonderful. Today my pay was reduced by ten percent. And that changes all of the progressive brackets so that now I'll have to be giving the company only forty-

four dollars per week to work there instead of sixty."

The situation prompting this outburst of relief will be approximately as follows. Our mechanic's federal income tax, withheld from his pay, will be forty-five percent. (As in England today.) The payroll deductions for the government's social security program will be thirty-three percent. (Roughly what social security is costing a Frenchman right now.) The combined income taxes withheld for his state and city governments will be ten percent. (Please note our bow to Governor Furcolo of Massachusetts.) The enforced "savings" deducted by the government from the worker's pay envelope, to be invested for him—in special government bonds, of course—will be twelve percent. (The fact that the government, following the example of the glorious Soviet Union, will periodically wipe out the value of these bonds, will have no bearing on enforcement of the program.) The young mechanic's contribution to the local Community Fund, which by then will have become an official and compulsory bite from his weekly wages, will amount to five percent. (Some of the promoters and beneficiaries of these united charity drives are visibly annoyed that this has not already happened.) And of course by that time five percent of the mechanic's pay will be collected by the government for his

labor union, and turned over to the union without any charge for the service. (Expect no ruth from Reuther.)

These total deductions will amount to 110 percent of the mechanic's wages. So that only when his pay is reduced to the minimum wage allowed by law (which will have been fixed by the Kefauver-Morse Bill of 1977 at \$440 per week) will his payment to his employer, for the privilege of working and of receiving all the wonderful fringe benefits, come down to the minimum of forty-four dollars per week. (The government, which by this time will own the factory where our mechanic works and all other factories, will be using the forced return of this "overpayment" as a means of confiscating all remaining private property in the hands of individuals. When the mechanic has nothing left, then the "overpayment" will become merely a book-keeping entry.)

"But," you say, "this is silly." It certainly is. Which doesn't alter its possibility as a fact in the slightest. Your government already has in effect, at this very minute in 1958, at least a dozen programs just as absurd, and as contrary to all common sense. And while we cannot spare the room in this issue of this magazine to explore the trends now leading to all the deductions itemized above, we can at least take a good look at one area of these developments—as an example of them all. In the following brief article Dr. Elizabeth Wilson, one of the world's best actuaries and an outstanding authority on our social security system, shows you that the attack of acute social-securityitis, from which we are now suffering, may produce results to make our forecast optimistic.

I

THE NEWDEALERS of the Roman Empire offered the populace both bread and circuses. We are more efficient. We make a circus out of the bread-doling agency.

Most Americans have already forgotten, in fact, that when Social Security opened its doors in 1935, it was sold to the country as a charity for the needy rather than as a pension plan for the total population. The most important division of the whole scheme, Old Age and Survivors Insurance, was supposed to be "merely a floor of protection," a cushion against starvation and dire want. (Some twenty years before, the reader should remember, the progressive income tax had been imposed on us by ridiculing the suggestion that its rate, even for the wealthiest individuals, might ever rise as high as ten percent.

But within the past decade Congress has changed its philosophy about the very function of social security. It is now expected to provide an appreciable part of every retired man's income. The benefits paid, and the number of people covered, by OASI, have mushroomed in very much the same way as did income tax rates a decade earlier. (Congress long ago revised its attitude toward the income tax. The function of this measure changed from the provision of revenue for the government to the prevention of the continued acquisition of "too much" wealth by individuals). The income tax became a means of subtracting from the substance of those who had more; social security, a means of giving more to those who had less. Both had become a part of the great "leveling" process—with equal poverty for all as the ultimate goal of both.

As a result of amendments passed in 1950, the total of monthly benefits paid out by OASI in 1951 doubled within a year. During each of the next three Congresses the program was further "liberalized." By December, 1957, these monthly payments were more than ten times those made in 1947. If King Solomon were living now, he would have to amend his list of those who "never say 'It is enough.'" He would be obliged to add "politicians tinkering with social security." There is a bill before the present Congress to provide for a further increase in benefits, of about twelve percent. But even that would, according to the bill's sponsor, Senator Proxmire of Wisconsin, be grossly inadequate. The base on which such benefits have been computed was raised long since from the first three thousand dollars of a man's annual wages to the first forty-two hundred. Senator Proxmire would like to revise this base to seventy-five hundred dollars. This would allow an unmarried retired worker to receive from the government a permanent pension of \$181.20 a month.

The expansion in the number of workers covered has kept pace with the increase in the amount of benefits paid to individuals. In 1938, the social security umbrella was spread over thirty-one million workers. In 1956, there were 103 million people on the social security rolls. As a result of these two factors working together, the total outlay zoomed from ten million dollars in 1938 to seven and one-half billion dollars in 1957.

This 1957 expenditure was more than six times what had been anticipated for that year, in the "actuarial illustrations" made in 1935. Indeed, the actuaries estimated in 1935 that, given "normal

economic conditions" (as if any such conditions ever existed, except in retrospect), the total benefit payments in 1980 would amount to three billion, two hundred million dollars. This is far less than one-half of the annual outgo right now. These same actuaries, or their "heirs and assigns," now estimate that in twenty more years (or two years before 1980) the total annual payments will exceed seventeen billion dollars! And even this figure, if it does not presuppose "normal economic conditions," is predicated on only coherent change and normal abnormality.

Where does the money come from now, and where will the much larger amount come from in the future? The ordinary voter has the impression that the taxes he pays, added to those his employer pays on his behalf, exceed the benefits he will receive. Actually, as stated in 1953 by the present chief actuary of the Social Security Administration, all current workers will be dependent, for their social security checks, on future taxes paid into the system—after they have ceased paying and are drawing benefits. The false reports on the solvency of the system (which lull the ordinary worker into thinking he is paying too much) stem in part from the Ponzi-style nature of the operation in its early decades. In the beginning, to millions who were playing *put* by becoming subject to social security taxes, there were only thousands playing *take* by reaching the retirement age and starting to draw the (then) comparatively modest benefits. And before this unbalance is corrected by the continuity of the undertaking, so that there is approximate equality (after adjustments for life expectancies) between those coming on the rolls at one end and those going off the rolls

Social Insecurity

at the other, and before the aged can thus claim that they have given *quid pro quo* for their retirement checks, we shall be well into the twenty-first century.

II

IN THE MEANTIME, and until fairly recently, the special taxes received for this purpose naturally had exceeded the outgo required. (Just as Ponzi was for a while taking in thousands in new money against the hundreds he was returning to earlier "investors.") The government has been paying the benefits due, as well as expenses of the operation, out of the money thus received. It has been selling its bonds to the Social Security Administration for the remainder, and having those bonds put into a "trust fund" towards taking care of future Social Security obligations. Less than a year ago, this "trust fund" had reached the total of twenty-three billion dollars. Even to our ears, calloused by and to astronomical figures, this sounds like a lot of fund—until we look at the commitments it is supposed to satisfy. But, in fact, it is probably not more than one-half of the cost of the payments which will be collected by those *now on the pension list*.

And this fund has started to decrease. The lowered mortality rate among older people, a burgeoning total population, and Congressional extravagance have already combined to put the system "in the red" as to current operations. This decline in the nest egg will clearly continue through 1959. But in 1960 the total of the OASI tax, paid by employers and employees together, is scheduled by law to go up from four percent to five percent. This, the Pollyannas emphasize, will put the system in the black again. They *do not* emphasize

how short-lived will be even this pseudo-solvency.

The real facts are revealing. The actuaries at the Social Security Administration have estimated, officially, that for the Agency to maintain a satisfactory financial balance, the worker and his employer must each pay four percent of the worker's wages from the day he starts until the day he retires. Under the present law, however, this amount of tax will not be exacted until 1975. And a very distinguished actuary has stated flatly that eight percent will not be enough. In reality, who can tell what an adequate rate will be twenty years from now, especially if the Congress continues to yield to a biennial attack of supergenerosity in social security benefits? Ten percent? Possibly. Most probably, twelve percent would be a far safer guess for the tax needed in the 1975 period.

In the meantime, the government's accrued liability—through the difference between total receipts from individuals as workers and total payments due those same individuals as pensioners (until that approximate balance is supposedly reached in the twenty-first century)—will continue to grow like Jack's famous beanstalk or Ponzi's real indebtedness. Politicians treat this mushrooming liability like a family skeleton, to be kept carefully hidden in the most remote closet and (above all) never to be talked about. Actually, it is already a colossal government debt, variously estimated at from 350 to 500 billion dollars—and certainly far more, alone, than the total *admitted* national debt of some 280 billion dollars.

This raises the question, of course, as to whether any such obligation will really ever be paid. Probably not, for there are only two ways in which it

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could be. One method would be to have social security taxes, at some far-off date, actually exceed the average premium payments adequate to pay the then-current benefits, thus catching up on this backlog of indebtedness. But to expect any such overtaking of future generations, to compensate for present underpayments, is politically as unrealistic as waiting for shrimps to whistle.

The second way in which this tremendous debt might possibly be liquidated would be through the discontinuance of social security. Under some circumstances of enlightenment as to their own self-interest, the members of the then-current laboring force (who would be the real creditors) might give up their rights to future benefits—thus wiping the slate clean. "Impossible," you say? Not necessarily. For these same creditors would also be the debtors. After 1975, social security pensions will take the equivalent of two weeks' pay out of every year, from the workers' envelopes—even at the rate now scheduled. The same amount will be taken, for the account of each worker, from his employer (who otherwise could increase the employee's pay by that much). This is a total of a month's wages. And it could well be that many workers, feeling this levy was entirely too high, would prefer to take their chances on personal savings and company pension plans.

[We think the workers should arrive at such a conclusion; but that to expect them to do so, in the face of what the politicians will be telling them about the government's generosity, is also politically unrealistic to a high degree. But we think Dr. Wilson has overlooked not only a third possibility for the payment of this huge accrued liability, but

the one way in which it actually will be wiped out. That is, through constant inflation of our money supply, deliberately brought about by the government. The obligations to those on the rolls being created today, while the government is taking in twenty-five cent dollars, will be paid off some years from now in ten-cent and five-cent dollars. And the parallel obligations then being assumed in five-cent dollars will be paid off in one-cent dollars. Until, eventually, the whole outstanding indebtedness, running to exponential figures, will be "liquidated"—by completely worthless currency, that makes all debts payable in currency of equal worthlessness. Editor.]

III

SUPPLEMENTING the Old Age and Survivors Insurance program is the one known as Old Age Assistance. It was originally designed to take care of those needy persons, over sixty-five, who could not qualify for benefits under OASI. (Now half a million beneficiaries get payments from both!) When the eligibility rules for OASI were relaxed, and its umbrella opened wider, the expectation was created that the need for Old Age Assistance would gradually fade away. It is true that there are fewer persons on the OAA rolls today than a couple of years ago. But two and one-half million persons still get checks from that source.

The reader, having heard that this program is just for the really needy, may well wonder how there can be so many destitute people in this era of prosperity. The answer lies in the definition of the word "needy"—a politically flexible definition indeed. For Old Age Assistance is a joint venture of the federal government and the states. So, while federal welfare

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officials carefully eliminate any vestige of opprobrium or even of charity from the receipt of OAA payments, by putting "respect for human personality" foremost among considerations in administration of the program, state legislatures are steadily making it easier for new applicants to qualify. Many states allow recipients of this aid, legally classified as "destitute," to own an automobile, a television set, and a home (with no limit on the home's value). In some states a legally determined "minimum" income does not bar the person having that income from Old Age Assistance. The result has been that, although many former beneficiaries of OAA have now been transferred to OASI, other new and less needy applicants have been added to the OAA rolls. In Louisiana, for a glaring example, six out of ten old people are now getting these public-assistance checks, paid by the state out of money furnished in part by the federal government. Also, as the cost of living has risen, state legislatures have increased the size of OAA payments. Colorado, the most generous state, is now devoting twenty-seven percent of its budget to such pensions. And nationwide, despite the decrease in the number of recipients, the total amount of benefits paid has gone up until it now stands at one billion seven hundred million dollars per year.

In the same welfare category are payments to children, almost as many of whom get aid from federal-state bounty as do old people. In 1956 children received about two-thirds of a billion dollars. Similarly, the blind, the crippled, and the totally disabled were given about half a billion dollars. Altogether, the public-assistance bill, outside OASI, was about three billion

dollars in 1957.

Then there is unemployment insurance, which is paid by the states, but subsidized by federal grants. Originally, the tax for this purpose was three per cent on the first three thousand dollars of each worker's pay. During the recent era of prosperity and full-or over-full-employment, this rate accumulated a total reserve fund that now stands at something over eight billion dollars. Such a reserve, unused for a few years, is about as popular with politicians as a red rag with a bull. So state legislatures have been reducing the taxes for unemployment insurance to an average annual rate of only 1.3 per cent. And, with mounting unemployment, the funds have been melting away. Without going into the probable ups and downs of both employment and the tax rates, we can assume that at least a two per cent rate will become standard. And "cash sickness benefits," supplementing unemployment insurance, will probably add a further 1½ or 2 per cent tax on the first three thousand dollars of wages, as the clamor for this added welfare measure grows. But only four states have it yet, so we'll skip that item in our appraisal here.

IV

So LET'S TAKE STOCK of the situation that has resulted from the Social Security Act of 1935, and from subsequent voter-wooing extensions of that legislation. By 1975 OASI will be sucking into its gaping maw at least eight per cent, and probably twelve per cent, of the first forty-two hundred dollars (or possibly the first seventy-five hundred dollars) of all wages and salaries received.

To this we must add approximately

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one per cent of the total national income for various types of other "assistance," and about two per cent of all wages, up to three thousand dollars per employee, for unemployment insurance. Plus another one to two per cent in those states where "cash sickness benefits" may be in force. This means that the "little" man, who makes three thousand dollars per year or less, could be paying—or having paid for him—from one-eighth to one-sixth of his income, for social security benefits alone. (This has nothing to do with the income tax which the government extracts from the same worker for "general" purposes.) And it also means, as Representative Noah Mason has estimated, that—on the basis of present social security legislation—workers and their employers will, in 1975, be paying at least twenty billion dollars per year for welfare benefits.

But all of this, in reality, only indicates the trend. For such socialistic dryrot not only undermines our economic structure, by channeling into the coffers of government paternalism funds which might otherwise be used to strengthen our private-enterprise system. It also undermines the self-reliance of our individuals, and encourages those who have eaten one kind of pablum at the public trough to cry for more and different kinds of handouts.

Despite the extensive and excellent job which health insurance underwriters are doing in helping the people of this country to meet their medical bills, the clamor for federal government health insurance is now steadily increasing. Already introduced is a new version of the Murray-Wagner-Dingell "socialized medicine" bills of a decade and more ago; but this time more limited in scope *at the start*, and with

a much better chance of passage in an early Congress. Already some thirty million of us, including veterans, military personnel with their dependents, and public assistance beneficiaries, are entitled to medical aid direct from Uncle Sam. Already, Representative Forand of Rhode Island is sponsoring a measure to add to such recipients of free hospital care, free drugs, and free surgery, the thirteen million people now eligible for OASI benefits. All such measures and pressures are really aimed at and are leading directly towards—eventually—a national health service for all of us.

The best "educated guess" I can make is that an all-inclusive national health service, such as the British now have, would cost upwards of thirty billion dollars a year—or about twice the present total expenditure for medical service today, when it is not "free." No one really knows. Before socialized medicine started in Britain in 1948, statisticians estimated that its cost would be 170 million pounds per year. This year, the government has budgeted the total cost of the medical service at 680 million pounds—four times the outlay anticipated only ten years ago. The only certain thing about such a program in America is that it would be breathtakingly expensive. And the estimate above, of nine to ten per cent of our national income, is not on the extravagant side.

With this expense added to the cost of other forms of social security, somewhat more than twenty-five per cent of the national income would be collected by the federal and state governments to pay for "welfare." Not only is this entirely possible. Not only has it already happened before—as in France, where the current figure is

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32½%. But it is what the Marxists and their dupes and allies are thoroughly determined to bring about, *in our country, in the near future*. And, of course, these social security levies will all be on top of the approximately thirty percent of the national income which the various governments are now taking, altogether, in individual income taxes.

The ostrich is not a wise bird. At least, his reputed habit of putting his head in the sand to avoid seeing danger is not deserving of emulation. But the American people of today make the ostrich of this fable sound wise and provident by comparison. They seem to be utterly unwilling to listen to the voice of clear and incontrovertible experience.

During the week of July, 1948, when the British National Health Service began to function, the *Investor's Chronicle* declared: "The conclusion seems inescapable that, in endeavoring to provide the population of Britain with the maximum safeguards against insecurity, the Government may, in fact, be undermining the whole structure of our society." The accuracy of this prophecy is already evident on every hand in Britain. Equally grave warnings are being issued from responsible quarters in America today. A Boston bank, in its February "letter," said: "If we follow the easy path of spending (this includes 'taxing selected Peter to pay handouts to collective Paul') to the point of inflation, we shall weaken our economy. Thus we could lose the battle for survival through the folly of extravagance."

That, as the Boston bank does not remind us on this occasion, is a huge part of the Marxist plan for our destruction. But even without an infiltrating

deadly enemy to take advantage of our weakened foundations with a final shove, no national economy can survive as a free economy, and no people can maintain their freedom as individuals for any length of time, under the circumstances we are rapidly creating. Not only will savings for capital investment be steadily reduced, far below the needs for new plant and equipment. Not only will the incentive to create jobs, or to produce more goods, also be reduced in the same way and to the same extent. Not only will the American standard of living necessarily and rapidly decline. But most important of all, no government can possibly handle so much of a people's income for them, more than a brief period, without the tremendous power thus lodged in the hands of the bureaucrats becoming concentrated into fewer and fewer hands at the top, with complete police-state controls as the inevitable result.

The constantly expanding social security program on which we are embarked today is visibly and rapidly bringing about the complete *insecurity* of our whole sociological system. What good are the promises of a debtor who pays off in worthless currency? How much security is there, in the nests built in the branches of a tree, if in order to build those nests the tree is constantly denuded of so many of its leaves that the whole tree dies and falls? How much freedom—or security from either slavery or starvation—is there for a laborer who puts so large a part of his earnings in the hands of a bureaucracy to handle for him that eventually he must do everything the bureaucrats order? Where could any of us possibly find more insecurity than in a society which undertook to guarantee one hundred percent security?

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Thomas Jefferson once wrote: "If are now doing so determinedly and we can prevent a Government from completely, with a runaway social wasting the labors of the people, under security program, is a sure way to be the pretense of caring for them, we shall come very unhappy—and very insecure be happy." Flouting this advice, as we —indeed.

The Game of Darts

The Eisenhower labor program has all the mouth-watering, rib-sticking satisfaction of boiled watermelon.

Tom Anderson

If all the automobiles in the world were placed end to end, some jerk driver would pull out and try to pass.

Driver's Digest

The trouble with the Democrats these days is that every time they discover a new issue, they learn that Ike has already staked claim to both sides of it.

Fletcher Knebel

A Hollywood actress so deeply mourned the death of her third husband that she insisted on black olives in her martinis.

Gilcrafter

There is not a single state in the Union that is not financially better off than the United States.

Lewis L. Drill

When we look at the opposing candidates for certain public offices, there is at least some satisfaction in the reflection that only one can be elected.

News and Views

One great trouble with the world today, especially on the international level, is that people don't trust one another, and have excellent reasons for not doing so.

Olin Miller

"I do know what a dollar's worth," the son said to his old man. "That's why I asked for two."

Uncle Mat

If President Sherman Adams finds it prudent to step down, we wonder if his assistant, Dwight Eisenhower, will move to the White House.

From Our Own Quiver

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

EDWIN McDOWELL

America would not be in such a predicament today, a wag recently observed, if the Indians had had stricter immigration laws. But this wisecrack ignored an important point. Laws mean nothing unless they are enforced and kept alive. An excellent illustration of what happens otherwise can be seen in our reciprocal trade agreements.

Originally the Constitution entrusted tariff-making (and unmaking) solely to Congress. But at the insistence of FDR and Cordell Hull, this power was delegated to the Executive Branch. The Trade Agreements Act of 1934 empowered the President to negotiate such agreements, for three-year terms, without Congressional approval; and allowed him to raise or lower the existing Hawley-Smoot rates by as much as fifty percent. Slowly but surely the barriers protecting American industry then came tumbling down, before the blasts of the internationalist trumpeters. MAINLINE (The Long House, New Canaan, Connecticut; 126 pages, \$3.00 clothbound, \$2.00 paperback), by Senator George W. Malone of Nevada, is an illuminating analysis of the whole tariff problem. It is also a frank plea for protection for American business.

The villain of the story is the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, nicknamed GATT. This villain was born, illegitimately, in 1947, at that "international White House" called Geneva. Instrumental in its conception had been the Red "traveling salesmen," Harry

Dexter White, Harold Glasser, and V. Frank Coe, each brazenly denying any dishonorable intentions toward the farmer's daughter, (in this case, the American Constitution). But now the visible evidence has made it embarrassingly clear that trickery was indeed contemplated, and achieved.

The creation of GATT, according to Senator Malone, was an economic Yalta. Only this time the United States herself was sold out, instead of her allies. This international authority, based on multilateral agreements, is making us gradually "dependent upon foreign sources for our defense and war-making potential." And whatever happens to the present Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, due to expire at the end of June, rejection of the scheme *in toto* by Congress is most unlikely. Putting the exercise of the tariff-making authority back in the hands of Congress would be a healthy restoration of some of "the representative nature of our union of sovereign states." And that is something which the interventionists and internationalists are to well entrenched to permit.

* * *

The Communist Party, U.S.A., at the July, 1957 meeting of its National Committee, went on record as demanding a summit conference to work for the suspension of nuclear tests. Ever since then the Communists have been putting their massive influence behind a "ban-the-bomb" campaign. Naturally,

they have had plenty of help from Eleanor Roosevelt, Norman Cousins, Bertrand Russell, Norman Thomas, Lester Pearson, Linus Pauling, Edward Condon, and other busy petition-pushers of the Left.

The noise stirred up by these perennial amplifiers of the Communist line has caused the whole free world to become acutely conscious of the danger from "nuclear fallout." We are told that future sterile generations and the mass production of deformed idiot children loom just around the corner, unless we follow the advice and the example of the peace-loving Kremlin, and go back to killing people with TNT instead of hydrogen bombs. (Of course, the fact that the Russians are comparatively short of hydrogen bombs has nothing to do with the case!)

OUR NUCLEAR FUTURE (Criterion, N. Y.; 184 pages, \$3.50), by Edward Teller and Albert L. Latter, is a sharp and expert answer to these critics of nuclear testing. There is danger from large doses of radiation, the authors readily admit. But the radiation absorbed from fallout is less than that obtained from wearing a watch with a luminous dial, or from having medical X-rays. "In other words," they say, "we know enough to state positively that the danger from the world-wide fallout is less than many other radiation effects which have not worried people and do not worry them now."

To the further chagrin of the Communist propaganda peddlers, Teller and Latter do a devastating job on the myth of disarmament. They think that "disarmament is safe only when no one wants to impose his will by force of arms upon his neighbors"; and

they do not think a world containing Russia exactly fits that description. "Is it wise," they ask, "to make agreements which honesty will respect but dishonesty can circumvent?"

Perhaps the surest proof of both the soundness and importance of the book is the unanimity and vigor with which it was attacked by the liberal press. The war cries were led by the New York *Herald Tribune* and the *Washington Post*, but their smoke signals were soon answered by the pious *Saturday Review* and the enervated *Nation*. None of them so far forgot themselves and the approved "liberal" technique, however, as to attempt to refute the facts. They stuck strictly to the "liberal" practice of trying to discredit the authors.

"It seems probable," Drs. Teller and Latter speculate, "that the root of the opposition to further tests is not connected with fallout. The root is deeper. The real reason . . . is connected with our desire for disarmament and peace." We agree with the authors that the root is deeper, and to the left. But we do not agree with their idealistic explanation, implying abiogenesis. We think it is quite clear just who planted the root, and for what purpose.

* * *

John Dos Passos, "liberal" author of the popular trilogy, *U.S.A.*, excoriator of capitalism and applauder of socialism, was the darling of the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune* book review sections. Anything he wrote they praised to the skies. Then Dos Passos' "liberal" outlook towards Communism caused him to go to Spain, during the Civil War. There he finally realized that Communism, instead of being a noble crusade, was a deliberate and foul

A Review of Reviews

conspiracy. He wrote of his disillusionment. And that, of course, was the end of Dos Passos, in those charmed and esoteric circles which determine, for the poor dumb and benighted American people, what is and what is not literature.

It is not surprising, therefore, that *THE GREAT DAYS* (Sagamore Press, N. Y.; 312 pages, \$4.50), a new book by John Dos Passos, has been viciously maligned by the liberal press. The *Saturday Review* said: "Somehow the collapse of Dos Passos' faith in the Russian Revolution brought about a loss of both historical perspective and creative vitality." (If Shakespeare were alive today, and failed to glorify the Russian Revolution, you can be sure that the *Saturday Review* would regard him as a hack.) The *Herald Tribune* spoke of "the ingredients of a novel that is still to be written." The *New York Times*, in an especially defamatory review, charged "it is not the novel we have a right to expect from John Dos Passos after his truly great achievements in the past." And *Time* called it his "saddest, sorriest novel."

The Great Days is none of these things. It is a poignant story of a war correspondent who cannot forget his own great days, when he was a famous writer. Out of favor because of his political conservatism, and still grieving the tragic death of his wife, Roland Lancaster tries to find solace in Cuba, with a young girl friend. Through the use of flash backs he brings out the pathetic history of James V. Forrestal (called Roger Thurlow), and the hapless decline of America during the past two decades. The tale is told effortlessly and sympathetically, in the brilliantly polished Dos Passos style. It

is in every way a worthy addition to his greatest accomplishments of the past. As John Chamberlain appraised it in the *Wall Street Journal*, this is an excellent historical novel, of great insight. Let's hope that some day, despite the liberals' villification, it will be so recognized.

* * *

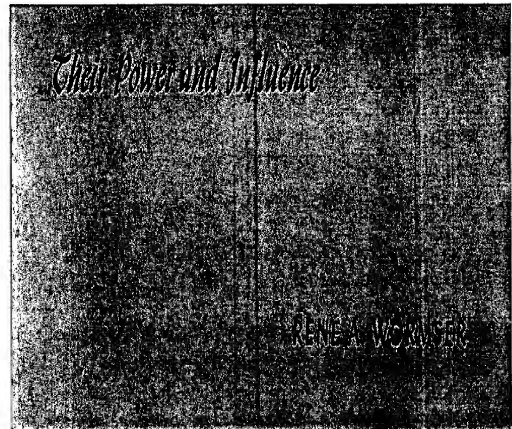
After Vice-President Henry Wallace returned from his jaunt through Russia in 1944, he stated that no slave camps existed in the Soviet Union. The millions of slaves then incarcerated in such camps as Magadan and Vorkuta would undoubtedly have regarded this statement as Mark Twain did the report of his own death—as a slight exaggeration. And John Noble, an American citizen arrested during the "liberation" of East Germany, could be forgiven for regarding this as one of Bubblehead Wallace's more unforgivable stupidities. For Noble spent nine years in one of those "non-existent" camps.

I WAS A SLAVE IN RUSSIA (Devin-Adair N. Y.; 183 pages, \$3.75) is the shocking account of Noble's enslavement, and of his life in a world of horror where hunger and cold were his perpetual companions: where he worked pushing two-ton coal cars, in a temperature of minus sixty degrees, while his weight dropped from 155 to 95 pounds; where death, from frostbite or freezing, often seemed preferable to the "justice" of the MVD secret police or of the *Blatnois* group of Russian criminals who ruled the slave camps by blackmail and murder. It was "a world of fear, terror, deceit, Godlessness, and slavery" to which a lot of bubbleheads, now advocating peaceful existence and "cultural exchanges" with the masters of this tyranny, should be exposed.

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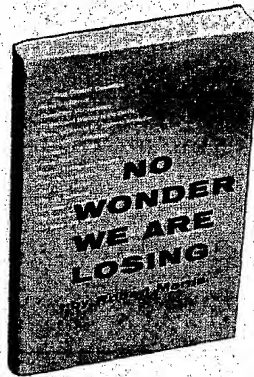
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Director, FBI

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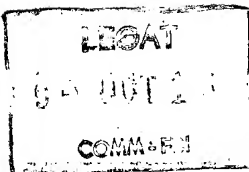
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Bufiles reflect "American Opinion" formerly known as "One Man's Opinion," is a publication issued irregularly by Robert H. W. Welch, Jr., Belmont, Massachusetts. It is a magazine consisting of reviews of current topics by various authors and observations by Welch. Many of its articles are anticommunist. No investigation of the publication has been conducted by the Bureau.

The item entitled "The Scoreboard" enclosed with your letter is a reprint of an article which appeared in the July-August, 1958, issue of "American Opinion," copies of which have been previously received by the Bureau. It reflects an estimate of the degree of communist influence and control over the economic and political affairs of 105 countries of the world.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Legal Attache enclosed letter from Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence Headquarters, U. S. Army, Germany, asking him for a check of our records regarding "American Opinion." Legal Attache requested we furnish information available in our files to him.



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Request available information appropriate for reply to G-2.

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EX - 133

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EX-133
OCT 13 1958

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DATE: 1/20/59

FROM : SAC, Milwaukee (100-0)

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/28/84 BY SP6 BJA/mre

On 1/19/59 Mr. JAMES R. SHINNERS, former SA, and presently member of public relations firm of WERNER, SHINNERS, BINA and HAEUSER, 741 N. Milwaukee St., Milwaukee, Wis., furnished the following information. SHINNERS requested that his name be kept confidential at this time.

On Friday and Saturday, 1/16/59 and 1/17/59, at the Milwaukee Country Club a meeting was held attended exclusively by 15 or 16 leading industrialists in the Milwaukee area, the majority of whom are men of means and position. Apparently the individual most instrumental in getting the group together was Mr. WILLIAM GREDE, Grede Foundaries, Milwaukee, Wis., who is an unusually potent force among industrialists in the area. The group also included Mr. HARRY BRADLEY of Allen-Bradley Co., Milwaukee, who is also an exceedingly potent force in Milwaukee. Also attending was a Mr. ROBERT EWENS, who is associated with the National Association of Manufacturers and who is also from Milwaukee.

At this meeting ROBERT H. W. WELCH was the sole lecturer. He conducted his lecture from prepared cards. The meetings were all business and had no recreation or levity whatsoever. WELCH lectured on Communism and his thesis was the extreme and very urgent need for anti-Communist action in the U. S. Reportedly WELCH is conducting a drive throughout the country to obtain funds to be utilized for anti-Communist activity. Generally stated, WELCH's purpose is to establish ostensible Communist front groups in localities throughout the country which in reality will be anti-Communist groups. He claims that for his purposes a great amount of money is needed and it is needed quickly. According to WELCH, his proposition falls on deaf ears on the East Coast of the U. S., and particularly in New York City, as there they claim to know it all. Reportedly WILLIAM GREDE heard WELCH conduct a similar meeting in Indianapolis, Ind., and at that time urged him to come to Milwaukee to conduct the meetings that were held on 1/16-17/59.

2-Bureau
2-Boston
1-Milwaukee (100-0)

DWT:AG
(5)
Pct & Conton,
cc: Milwaukee
1-28-59
RDS/ly

REC-91

JAN 23 1959

INT. SEC.
PERS. FILES

Memo, Director
MH 100-3
1/20/59

According to WELCH's plan, those who contribute to his cause substantially at the outset will be "on the ground floor" and will be nominal directors in the principal office of WELCH's organization, which reportedly is located in Belmont, Mass.

In addition to obtaining large financial contributions at the outset, WELCH also plans to establish a society which will bear the name of a rather prominent Marine Corps member who was killed by Communist elements. (The name of this individual was not obtained by SKINNERS). Memberships in this society would be obtained at a cost of \$2 per month per man, and \$1 per month for his wife. WELCH also has a magazine or some type of publication called "American Opinion," published at Belmont, Mass. As an indication of the amount of money needed now WELCH indicated that a million dollars would be required.

According to SKINNERS, the meeting was conducted by WELCH in a very secretive manner. Those in attendance were instructed not to divulge what had transpired to their office personnel or even to their wives at this juncture.

Relative to the background of WELCH, he claims to have a brother with whom he had formerly been associated in a candy company in Belmont, Mass., or Boston, Mass., and that he and his brother disagreed and split up over WELCH's interest in the anti-Communist cause. As a result ROBERT E. W. WELCH is reportedly no longer associated with the candy company. It was also indicated that he came to the Boston area from somewhere in Alabama. WELCH indicated at the meeting that he was shortly proceeding to Boca Raton, Fla., where the board of directors of the National Association of Manufacturers are scheduled to meet soon, and that he will hold a similar meeting there. During the course of the meetings in Milwaukee WELCH did not mention names to any great extent and from available information nothing was mentioned at the meetings relative to the role of the FBI in connection with the investigation and handling of matters re Communism.

SKINNERS advised that information had come to his attention that some of those in attendance were skeptical of the bonafides of ROBERT E. W. WELCH but that others seemed somewhat receptive. He emphasized that the great majority of those in attendance on 1/16-17/59 were exceedingly prominent and influential individuals in the Milwaukee area, whose loyalties toward the U. S. are unquestioned. SKINNERS felt, however, that some of these individuals might be unwittingly taken in by some such activity.

Memo, Director

MI 100-0

1/20/59

A check of Milwaukee indices fails to disclose any information identifiable with ROBERT E. W. WELCH or with the publication "American Opinion."

The foregoing is called to the attention of the Bureau for information purposes. Inasmuch as it is not inconceivable that the initial efforts of WELCH in the Milwaukee area might be followed up, it would be appreciated if the Milwaukee Division could be furnished any available background on the matter.

1 - M
1 - M
1 - M



SAC, Boston

January 28, 1959

REC- 91
Director, FBI (62-104401) 6

ROBERT H. W. WELCH
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/25/84 BY SP8 BJA/mse

Re Milwaukee letter dated January 20, 1959.

Bufiles reflect that Robert H. W. Welch, Jr., Belmont, Massachusetts, irregularly issues the publication "American Opinion," formerly known as "One Man's Opinion." This magazine consists of reviews of current topics by various authors and comments and observations by Welch. Many of its articles are anticommunist. Welch sends copies of the publication to the Bureau and Bureau letter dated March 11, 1957, to Welch acknowledged receipt of one issue of the magazine. Bureau files contain no additional identifiable information concerning Welch. The Bureau has not investigated Welch or his publication.

The Boston Office is instructed to conduct discreet inquiries to obtain background data concerning Welch. These inquiries must be conducted with caution and good judgment to prevent any embarrassment to the Bureau and possible accusations that Welch is under investigation by the FBI. In this connection, no open inquiries or investigation should be conducted. That office should also remain alert for any information concerning Welch's alleged anticommunist activities to insure that these activities do not encroach upon the Bureau's jurisdiction and responsibilities.

Milwaukee and Boston Offices should remain particularly alert for any information concerning Welch's plan to organize ostensible communist front groups which in reality will be anticommunist groups. Any information concerning Welch's activities should be promptly brought to the Bureau's attention.

2 - Milwaukee (100-0) ✓

NOTE ON YELLOW: See memorandum Mr. Baumgardner to Mr. Belmont dated 1/27/59, same caption, RDS:hif.

S:hif

ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *af/447*

DATE: January 27, 1959

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *X*SUBJECT: ROBERT H. W. WELCH
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Nease _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

AMERICAN OPINION

The Milwaukee Office has advised of a meeting on January 16 and 17, 1959, attended by a group of leading industrialists in that area. Welch was the sole lecturer at the meeting and allegedly lectured on communism and the very urgent need for anti-communist action in the United States. Welch is reportedly conducting a drive throughout the country to obtain funds to be used for anticommunist activity. He desires to establish ostensible communist front groups which in reality would be anticommunist groups. Welch indicated to the group that his plans would necessitate large financial contributions and indicated that a million dollars would be needed. This meeting was conducted in a very secretive manner and it was reported that some of the industrialists in attendance were somewhat receptive to Welch's ideas. Milwaukee requested the Bureau advise of any background information available concerning Welch.

Bufiles reflect that Robert H. W. Welch, Jr., Belmont, Massachusetts, irregularly issues the publication "American Opinion," formerly known as "One Man's Opinion." This magazine consists of reviews of current topics by various authors and comments and observations by Welch. Many of its articles are anticommunist. Welch forwards copies of his publication to the Bureau. Bulet to Welch dated March 11, 1957, acknowledged receipt of one issue of the magazine. Bufiles contain no additional identifiable information concerning Welch. Neither he nor his publication has been subject of Bureau investigation.

RECOMMENDATION:

(1) Pursuant to the request of the Milwaukee Office, it is recommended we furnish that office with the limited information we have on Welch.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/28/94 BY Sp6 BJA/mis

Enclosure

1 - Mr. A. H. Belmont
1 - Mr. F. J. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. R. D. Simpson

RDS:hif
(4)

FEB 11 1959 NR

62-104401-6X

MCT-1

REC-23

5/1/59

conspiration

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: ROBERT H. W. WELCH

(2) It is also recommended that Boston be instructed to make discreet inquiries to obtain background data concerning Welch and to remain alert for any information concerning his alleged anticommunist activities to insure that these activities do not encroach upon the Bureau's investigative jurisdiction and responsibility. Attached is a suggested letter to the Boston Office with copies to the Milwaukee Office.

RWB
RWC

Asch

[Signature]

[Signature]

OK
[Signature]

Office

um

UNITED

NMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (62-104401)

DATE: 2/4/59

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-32899)

SUBJECT: ROBERT H. W. WELCH, JR.
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

By letter dated December 23, 1958, G-2 Governor's Island, New York, forwarded to this office extracts from a volume entitled "The Politician". The volume, according to G-2, was written and privately printed for distribution by ROBERT WELCH, President of ROBERT A. WELCH, Candy Manufacturer Cambridge, Massachusetts, and contains allegations highly critical of the President of the United States and other members of the United States Government. (X) u

G-2 advised that a copy of this volume was mailed to a member of the United States Army on August 31, 1958. (X) u

A photostatic copy of the extract furnished by G-2 is enclosed for the information of the Bureau. (X) u

A review of the Boston indices reflects the following information:

On May 23, 1958 BS 725-S*, a highly sensitive source, provided information concerning a group of 3x5 cards contained in an envelope bearing the return address, P.O. Box #136, Cooper Station, New York 3, N.Y., believed to represent subscriptions to the "Daily Worker". Included among these was one bearing the notation: (X) u

Robert Welch, Inc.
Belmont, Mass.
9-14-58 MR-S

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 11/13/85 SPW

On January 19, 1959, Mr. [redacted], General Post Office, New York, New York, advised SA [redacted] that P. O. Box 136, Cooper Station, New York 3, New York was leased by the "Daily Worker", 50 E. 13th Street, New York City from 1938 until discontinued on June 26, 1958.

2 - Bureau (62-104401) (RM) (Enc. 1)
1 - Boston (100-32899)

DBC/mtm
(3)

REC-8

FEB 6 1959

51 FEB 19 1959

424/84
Classified by [redacted]
Declassify on [redacted]

62-104401-7
FEB 6 1959
[redacted]

b6
b7C

BS 100-32899

Reference is made to Milwaukee letter to the Director, dated January 20, 1959 entitled "ROBERT H. W. WELCH, ANTI-COMMUNIST DRIVE, MILWAUKEE DIVISION" referring to lectures by WELCH on January 16 and 17, 1959 at the Milwaukee Country Club calling for urgent need for Anti-Communist action in the United States.

Reference is also made to New York letter to Director, dated September 23, 1957 entitled "[REDACTED] IS-GREAT BRITAIN, RUSSIA", which refers to a speech given in Cincinnati, Ohio on September 3 or 4, 1957 by ROBERT H. W. WELCH, Jr., Belmont 78, Massachusetts, sponsored by the Circuit Riders, Inc.

b6
b7C

Cincinnati letter to Boston, dated May 6, 1958 described the Circuit Riders as a Methodist lay organization financed by a number of prominent Americans to expose Communist influence in religious organizations.

The Boston Telephone Directory for 1959 shows the Welch Candy Company at 810 Main Street, Cambridge, Mass. and ROBERT H. W. WELCH, Jr., at 43 Fletcher Road, Belmont, Massachusetts. Robert Welch, Inc. is listed as 385 Concord Avenue, Belmont, Massachusetts.

It is noted that ROBERT H. W. WELCH, believed identical with the subject, is editor of the pamphlet "American Opinion", published by Robert Welch, Inc., Belmont 78, Massachusetts, which appears to be Anti-Communist in nature.

It is suggested that as a speaker and writer WELCH may have subscribed to the "Daily Worker" in the name of Robert Welch, Inc. for use as source material.

LEAD

THE BOSTON DIVISION:

Will obtain background data concerning WELCH in accordance with Bureau letter to Boston, dated January 28, 1959.

ENCLOSURE TO BUREAU (1) (RM)

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (100-32099)

Photostat of subject from "The Politician"

APR 11
RECEIVED
DATE 4/25/84

Spicer, H. M. E.

62-104401-7

THE POLITICIAN

not classified per

Aray Letter 9/27/85

Sp7 mac 11/15/86

62-104401-7
(enclosure)

Dear Reader:

This is not a book. It has not been published. It has not been offered for publication, nor intended for private publication by the writer.

This is an unfinished manuscript. A first and far shorter draft was completed in December, 1954, and shown to about thirty of my best-informed friends. A much longer version was finished in August, 1956, and has been read by perhaps sixty friends. This is a third, but by no means final, form of the composition. Its typewritten pages have been reproduced by a photo-offset process, and put together in this loose-leaf binder, solely for the convenience of those who are asked to read it.

Such friends, of whom you are one, have been very carefully selected -- for reasons which will become obvious. Each copy of the manuscript is numbered, and this is No. 52. I am asking you to consider it as on loan to you, for your own eyes only, until it is returned. I hope you will consider the contents as strictly confidential, and will use precaution to keep the manuscript safeguarded while it is in your possession. But I shall not ask for it back in a hurry, because if anything happens to me I should like to have a goodly number of copies safely out in other hands.

Fully aware of the pressures on your time, I am nevertheless pleading with you to take enough of that time to read all of these pages carefully and without undue haste. Not only I, but other men of far more influence and achievement (whose names are known

to you but should not be mentioned here), believe that you will consider this to be the most important manuscript or book you have ever read. This is not at all because of any skill or special knowledge or authority on my part. It is because of the importance -- to you, to your family, and to your country -- of the facts themselves which have been assembled here for your consideration.

Except in Chapter I (the accuracy of which I am willing to guarantee), there is no information in these pages which has not already been widely published elsewhere. My undertaking has been merely to put together the various pieces, as they fit into one clear pattern, in order to make more obvious the frightening significance of the total picture.

Besides my main purpose, of calling to your attention the real import of this picture as I see it, there is one other reason for sending you the manuscript. The possibility cannot be ignored that ever-worsening circumstances may, at some future time, make advisable the publication of a book based on this material. Against that possibility I welcome, and shall greatly appreciate, any corrections of error, additions of significantly relevant fact, or criticisms or suggestions of any kind, you may be able and willing to give me.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

INTRODUCTION

It is difficult for many of us to remember just what the score was, in the Cold War, only five years ago. So a brief review of the situation at that time may be helpful.

Joseph Stalin died on March 5, 1953. During the spring and summer of 1953 his death was a recent and most important event. Lavrenti Beria was still alive, to contest with Georgi Malenkov for dictatorial power. Affairs in the Kremlin were more unsettled than they had been since the purges of 1937. And throughout the world a fermenting doubt was at work as to whether Malenkov or anybody else would be able to establish the firm and efficient control over International Communism that had been exercised by Stalin.

The preponderant weight of evidence, on the authority of those best informed about the subject, was that the Russians had not yet produced even one atom bomb for themselves. The few they had obtained for demonstration and prestige purposes had been assembled by them out of parts stolen from our plants. Even Harry Truman had subscribed to this view, in January, 1953, on the basis of all the knowledge that had been available to him as President. The Russians, while proceeding with their usual bluff and bluster, simply did not yet have any nuclear weapons.

General Van Fleet was in position to inflict a devastating defeat on the Chinese Communists in Korea. He himself has stated that, as late as April, 1953, he and the South Koreans could have won an overwhelming victory, and should have been allowed to do so. Chiang Kai-shek had half a million soldiers on Formosa, straining at the leash to go back to the

mainland -- either independently, or as our allies in Korea.

Japan had not yet been infiltrated by Communist influences as it has today. Ramon Magsaysay was in the very process of completely routing the Communists in the Philippines. Ho Chi Minh was still having plenty of troubles with his civil war in Vietnam. Sukarno had not yet dared show his completely Communist hand in Indonesia. In Ceylon, extremely important as a base for any small wars around the perimeter of Asia, the United National Party was still in control; its dominant figure, Sir John Kotelawala (to become Premier in October, 1953) was vigorously pro-Western and anti-Communist.

There were no strategically serious Communist advances yet in Africa. (Gamal Abdel Nasser was still a lieutenant-colonel; he became Vice-Premier of Egypt, under President Neguib, on June 18, 1953.) The Middle East, except for little Israel, was still firmly anti-Communist. Turkey had shown her willingness actually to fight the Communists, by the troops she had sent to Korea. Greece was at that time solidly in the anti-Communist camp. So was Italy, with the Christian Democrats still in control. England had thrown out the left-wing socialists and had a Tory government which, except for Anthony Eden, was at least a little bit awake to the Communist threat. West Germany had staged a remarkable recovery, and was taking the lead in trying to establish the anti-Communist European Defense Community. The enslaved people in Poland, in the Balkans, in all of the satellites, were as resentful and smoldering as they have ever been. The East Germans arose in the most determined and dangerous uprising the Kremlin ever had to face. The suicidal rebellion at the huge Vorkuta slave labor camps showed the inflammable conditions inside Russia itself. There

were a dozen fuses waiting to be lighted, and some already lighted which had to be stamped out in a hurry, all leading to charges of dynamite within the foundations of Soviet power.

The American government had saved the Soviet regime from financial collapse in 1933, and given its prestige and credit the vital hypodermic injection, by recognition. The American government had saved the Soviet regime from destruction by Hitler's armies, in 1942 and 1943, through intervention with both supplies and military force. The American government had made possible all of the postwar expansion of the Soviet empire, by acquiescence and frequently by collaboration in the Soviet subjugation of other nations. But in the spring of 1953 the American people were no longer in a mood to condone such a partnership. The American people had begun to wake up to the extent of Communist infiltration into our government and into every segment of our public life. They were, at long last, realizing the crime of "containment" and the folly of appeasement. And without the American government to hold over the Kremlin the umbrella of its protection, against storms rising on every side, the Kremlin faced a very precarious future. Not since the siege of Stalingrad had the whole Communist tyranny been in so much danger of being wiped off the face of the earth.

The sad truth is that this tyranny was actually saved, in this period of great vulnerability, by just one thing; by the inauguration, on January 20, 1953, of Dwight David Eisenhower as President of the United States. The circumstances of his election made it politically necessary for him to bring many good men into his government. The rationale of his election, and the temper of the American people, made it imperative for a while that he talk a good brand of anti-Communism. But the Communist influences

which completely controlled him kept the reins of that control tight and effective. Subtly, cleverly, always proclaiming otherwise and finding specious excuses for what were really pro-Communist actions, these Communist influences made him put the whole diplomatic power, economic power, and recognized leadership of this country to work, on the side of Russia and the Communists, in connection with every problem and trouble spot in their empire. You only have to look at where we stand today, five years later, at exactly these same spots on the scoreboard reviewed above, to realize the truth of this assertion and the extent of this Communist success. It simply was not possible to lose so much ground, so rapidly, to an enemy so inferior, by chance or by stupidity. The explanation calls for a very sinister and hated word, but one which is by no means new in the history of governments or of nations. The word is treason. It is the province of this treatise to show the part played in these treasonous developments, however unwittingly or unwillingly, by Dwight Eisenhower; and how, as the most completely opportunistic and unprincipled politician America has ever raised to high office, he was so supremely fitted for the part.

CHAPTER ONE

The Lieutenant Colonel

The Olympic Hotel in Seattle is a massive stone building, with a huge oldfashioned main dining room that has been a treat to this weary traveler, and to thousands like him, on many occasions over many years. Nevertheless, in 1940 the Olympic Hotel badly needed business. Early that fall the manager hit upon a gesture of hospitality which he thought might serve as bait to bring in more customers. He was after, specifically, more patronage from the younger officers of the rapidly increasing U. S. Army forces at nearby Ft. Lewis. And he believed that if the colonels made The Olympic their social headquarters, the lieutenants would surely follow.

So the hotel manager telephoned a colonel with whom he had recently been on a fishing trip. He invited this gentleman to bring three or four other officers besides himself to dinner, in the manager's four-room apartment in the hotel. The colonel accepted. One of the officers he took along for the evening was a lieutenant colonel, by the name of Dwight D. Eisenhower. The only other guests were John Boettiger and his wife, the former Anna Roosevelt Dall, daughter of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Anna's place in her father's affections, and influence over him, were well known at that time. As soon as Lt. Colonel Eisenhower saw Mrs. Boettiger, and realized who she was, he asked to be seated next to her at dinner. Before dinner, during dinner, and after dinner, he monopolized her attention. They conversed together throughout the evening, to the visible

exclusion of the others present. But much of their conversation, naturally and necessarily, was overheard. And the burden of Ike's song for hour on hour was the greatness of Franklin D. Roosevelt. In telling the daughter how wonderful her father was, the lieutenant colonel managed to cover with fulsome praise practically all the words and works of the President.

Early the next morning Anna was on the telephone to her father in Washington. "I've found the man," she said. And she proceeded to tell the abnormally vain FDR what a hero-worshipper of his, and what a genius, she had discovered in an army uniform. Within a few days -- although the incident is completely and understandably ignored in Ike's own account of this period, in his ghost-written autobiography, Crusade In Europe -- Lt. Colonel Eisenhower was ordered to Washington for an interview in the White House.

A few weeks later Eisenhower, back at Ft. Lewis, was made Chief of Staff of the 3rd Infantry Division. Four months later, in March of 1941, he became Colonel Eisenhower, and was made Chief of Staff of the whole Ninth Army Corps. In June he was made Chief of Staff of the United States Third Army, with headquarters at San Antonio. There, in his own language, he "was brought closer to the problems of the Army of the United States as a whole." At the end of September, of that same year of 1941, he became a brigadier general. Five days after Pearl Harbor, or on December 12, 1941, he was called to Washington by telephone, in advance of written orders, by Walter Bedell Smith, who was conveying instructions from General George C. Marshall.

Brigadier General Eisenhower met General Marshall in Washington on December 14, and was immediately brought into war planning at the highest

level. On February 16, 1942 he was made Assistant Chief of Staff of the War Plans Division. On March 9, as the War Plans Division was replaced by the OPD -- Operations Division of the War Department General Staff -- Eisenhower became its first head, with the rank of Major General. On June 11 he was given command of our "European Theatre of Operations"; and soon "fell into the habit" of having luncheon with Winston Churchill at 10 Downing Street every Tuesday, and dinner with Churchill at the latter's home every Thursday. In July, 1942 he was given the three stars of a lieutenant general. On February 11, 1943, less than two years from the time when he had still been a lieutenant colonel, Eisenhower became a full general. And ten months later, although he had never been in combat command of even a battalion, and had never seen a battle, General Eisenhower was made Commander in Chief of all the Allied forces in Western Europe.

We do not wish to imply, however, that this meteoric rise was due entirely to the exercise of Eisenhower's flattering charm on Anna Roosevelt Boettiger, nor even to the personal favoritism of her father which he thereby obtained. There were more comprehensive forces at work. The first of these was the overall and continuous brilliance of Dwight D. Eisenhower as a politician. This aptitude (which included some unsavory tricks for self-promotion at the expense of his associates and superiors) had already been well utilized, to give him the nebulous but profitable reputation of being "an outstanding officer." For Eisenhower is not only all politician, so far as his ability is concerned. He is the living embodiment of practically all of the skills and attitudes that every ambitious politician would like to possess.

His most obvious asset in political maneuvers

is the personal charm to which we have already referred. Few men have ever exemplified more conclusively Shakespeare's wise observation that "one may smile, and smile, and be a villain." Woodrow Wilson, for all the subtlety of his skill as a politician, lacked this characteristic of disarming self-ingratiation, which Franklin Roosevelt found so useful and which Eisenhower has made even more so.

But Eisenhower is more like Wilson, and goes far beyond him, in the second asset of his inventory -- which is the successful pretense of not being a politician at all. Here is, in plain and completely provable fact, the "big lie"; the lie so big, and so exactly the opposite of the truth, that it simply does not occur to most people to examine it, as possibly a lie, at all. La Rochefoucauld said: "It is a great cleverness to know how to conceal one's cleverness." With regard to his political cleverness Eisenhower has performed this feat in the style of a master.

The General's contribution towards winning World War II, for instance, was important; but it was entirely that of a political "fixer." Whether working with (or on) Darlan and DeGaulle, or smoothing out frictions and disagreements between the British and American chiefs of staff, his skill was so great that even Alanbrooke said that "we, as allies, were extremely fortunate to have such a charming individual. As Supreme Commander what he may have lacked in military ability he greatly made up for by the charm of his personality." Actually, Eisenhower was so poor at strategy, tactics, and the necessary qualifications for military command that even his unceasing sponsor, George Marshall, once cabled him in disgust that he was entirely too weak for the position which he held. He was, in fact, so indifferent a soldier that it became necessary for the top authorities to shunt him aside and upstairs, in such an ex-

alted position that he had only political considerations to which to devote his energy and time, in order that the real soldiers under him could get on with their campaigns and the business of winning the war. And yet he came out of the war, and took a place in the American public mind, as a great soldier; a man who had won the war by his superb military generalship; and a man so completely naive in politics that he didn't even know what was happening, in the gigantic build up of himself for the presidency. So firmly and cleverly was this reputation established that not even after five years of Eisenhower as President, during which time he has continuously engaged in far more dirty, more deceptive, and more ruthless behind-the-scenes political manipulations than even Roosevelt ever undertook, have the American people begun to see the politician in the uniform of a soldier or under the silk hat of the statesman.

So, returning to the discussion of Eisenhower's rise in four years from being an unknown lieutenant colonel to becoming the Supreme Commander of the largest military force ever organized, with dozens of the very ablest generals of Europe and America under him, there are those -- even among his most severe critics -- who attribute this fantastic ascent entirely to his charm and political genius; to the same consciously employed smoothness that hypnotized Anna Roosevelt and her father, and started Ike on his way. And of course they could be right. But we think these critics are entirely too optimistic, too generous, and too blind to other influences which were sweeping him along.

We believe that some very sinister but powerful forces had already put their mark on Eisenhower as a pliable tool of the future; that they recognized in him a politician who, for personal promotion and prestige and glory, would always be willing to sail

...the winds they created and to keep his compass pointed in the direction they desired. And we believe not only that these forces were already helping the advancement of his career, at every turn, but that this conclusion can be convincingly substantiated by a careful enough study of the record.

We agree that the dinner in Seattle was extremely fortunate for Eisenhower and his promoters; and that this opportunity to reveal himself to one of the Roosevelt clan as so kindred a spirit was important. But we also think that if this propitious opening had not occurred, he or his behind-the-scenes manipulators would have invented one which served almost as well. While it is probable that Roosevelt's sheer favoritism, once gained and held by the Eisenhower flattery and charm, might alone have put Eisenhower in a major-general's uniform before the war was over, we think it took those sinister forces, of which Roosevelt himself was a half willing but never quite conscious captive, to parlay the Eisenhower winnings into so grand -- and useful -- a final prize. And we think this fact is the key to much of the tragic history of the last fifteen years.

CHAPTER TWO

"Lucky Ike"

For, let's go back to December 12, 1941. It was only the preceding Sunday that General George C. Marshall had woefully failed to use the telephone, or any other prompt means, to give General Short and Admiral Kimmel in Hawaii his own advance information as to the coming Japanese attack. Half of the American fleet had been deliberately decoyed as sitting ducks in Pearl Harbor, with Marshall's full knowledge and connivance, to induce the Japanese to strike. So afraid were he and Roosevelt that the Hawaiian commanders might somehow learn in advance of Japanese intentions that they had even denied these commanders the possession of a "Purple" decoding machine, through which they themselves might have learned at first hand what was afoot. And while Roosevelt was equally guilty with Marshall of this particular piece of deliberate treason, I believe that the history of the two men and of the period will show a huge difference in motives. Roosevelt, being swept along and used by Communist forces which he thought he was using, avid for the glory and the power of being a wartime president and of tossing around millions of men and billions of dollars with a nod of his head, dreaming of accomplishing what Wilson had tried but failed to do, seeing himself sometime in the future as the world-worshipped hero who had saved it for democracy and perhaps even united it under his own leadership; Roosevelt thus saw the coming loss at Pearl Harbor as a worthwhile gambit for the sake of getting us into the war through a blow struck first

by an enemy.

It was criminal. In fact, it was treason. But getting the enemy to strike first, in a war that seems inevitable, is nothing new in the history of nations. Those who would condone it can point to precedents in the past. And there are plenty of intelligent and otherwise patriotic Americans today who, recognizing and admitting everything we have stated above, still claim that Roosevelt was justified in making this calculated sacrifice in order to unite the country at once in wartime effort against enemies who sought to destroy it. We vigorously disagree, but they have at least an understandable argument.

George Marshall's purpose, however, in our opinion, was not to save his country, but to carry forward Communist plans which would ultimately deliver it to Communism. His immediate goal was to get America into the war, at any cost, in order to relieve Stalin from the terrible pressure of the German armies. It was Japan who attacked us, but Marshall headed the necessary strength and influence which caused us to throw all of our gathering war might against Germany -- or in the form of supplies and armament directly to the aid of the Russians. It was Marshall who insisted on our launching an immediate landing and second front in France, even in 1942, at whatever cost; and who kept on so insisting, even after the British had shown everybody else enough of the facts of life about crossing the Channel at that time to make the idea obviously absurd. Alanbrooke even charges that Marshall didn't have the slightest plan as to what Allied troops would do, if and after any of them actually landed in France, or even as to which way they should try to go. This may be inaccurate or exaggerated. But it was prompted by Marshall's clamorous demand for a second front at once. The British, and even most of the American generals

primarily George Marshall and Dwight D. Eisenhower, who were deliberately and consciously serving the interests of Russia rather than their own country, the puzzle would have disappeared like an exploded soap bubble. And it made no difference that some of these men were not traitors for the sake of treason, but only opportunistic politicians who knew where the real control of future events lay and by which side their bread was buttered.

Let's look next at another tremendous boost given the Russian Communist plans by Eisenhower, for which he justifiably took some of the credit in 1948, but which he undoubtedly would prefer to disclaim today. This was the instigation and early implementation of the so-called Morgenthau Plan for the conversion of Germany into a goat pasture -- so that it could never stand as a bulwark against the eventual Russian march across Europe. But for the foresight, patriotism, and determination of just one man, James Forrestal (whom the Communists later, either directly or indirectly, murdered), Eisenhower and his Communist pushers would have succeeded in carrying out the complete and final devastation which they planned.

The egg of the Morgenthau Plan was laid during a discussion of Germany's future, which took place at Eisenhower's English headquarters, in August, 1944. In Crusade in Europe Eisenhower (or his Communist ghost writer, Joseph Barnes) says that the discussion arose because of the visit of Secretary Morgenthau. But even in 1948 Mr. Barnes was careful not to have Eisenhower mention that Harry Dexter White and John G. Winant were also present at the meeting. As to primary responsibility for the plan, however, we can save a lot of rambling to assemble evidence by simply quoting Fred Smith, former Assistant to Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgen-

and ably, however sad their hearts, in American uniform as American soldiers against the Japanese armies. But for Japan to have treated any of these Japanese, who were captured in American uniform, as anything but regular prisoners of war, would have been unthinkable under international law. For us to have entered into some agreement with Japan when the war was over to turn over to that country, for torture and death, any of these Japanese who had served in our uniform in our armies, would have been incredible. So Vlasov certainly had reason to hope and believe that he and his men would be accorded the civilized treatment of uniformed prisoners of war; especially since everything that had happened at Yalta was then still as secret as the grave.

On the way to the redoubt in Austria the First ROA Division, under General Bunichenko, side-stepped enough to march to Prague. At that time Patton's forces, which had reached Pilsen, fifty miles away, had been pulled back about fifty miles by Eisenhower's orders (on the excuse later given that he couldn't spare the gasoline for them to march fifty miles forward), in order to allow the Russians under Marshall Koniev to take the city. The inhabitants had revolted against the Germans, the departing Nazis had set fire to the city, and sheer horror prevailed. Bunichenko's division arrived, restored order on May 6, 7, and 8, and slipped away as Koniev's troops came in. Having learned in Prague that Eisenhower intended to let Russian troops occupy all of Czechoslovakia, General Bunichenko marched his ROA First Division westward until they reached the nearest American forces, and surrendered his twenty-five thousand men to the United States 3rd Army on May 10, 1945. The division was then forcibly disarmed, and compelled by United States tanks to march into the hands of the Red Army which was waiting for

two million victims were involved, and the whole operation was of tremendous importance to postwar Europe, the book tries to gloss the story over in less than three pages of humanitarian generalities. (They are Pages 484-486 in the 1952 paperbound PermaBooks edition.) And these two and one-half pages are a tissue of deliberate and direct lies. Just for one illustration, Eisenhower says on Page 485: "These policies and agreements (he is trying to blame Yalta, but is actually admitting he made the decisions) we first tried to apply without deviation, but we quickly saw that their rigid application would often violate the fundamental humanitarian principles we espoused. Thereafter we gave any individual who objected to return the benefit of the doubt."

I have in front of me, as I now write, a photostatic copy of Part II of an order issued from "Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force," dated "Revised May 1945," and entitled "Guide To The Care Of Displaced Persons in Germany." Part II, Section 3, Heading 1, Paragraph 3 of that order says: "After identification by Soviet Repatriation Representatives, Soviet displaced persons will be repatriated regardless of their individual wishes." Another paragraph of that same order reads: "Enemy and ex-enemy displaced persons, except those assimilated to United Nations status, will be returned to their countries of nationality or former residence without regard to their personal wishes." These orders continued in effect, without any interruption until August, when General Patch raised his question; and then were confirmed by our Joint Chiefs of Staff, even as to the specific use of force, as soon as Eisenhower became a member and could put his influence to work. And both he and Joseph Barnes were well aware of these facts, when they wrote the falsehoods indicated above for publication in 1948.

large as it is among educators. So it may well be that turning the eyes of the American public away from any good look at this quietly dangerous development was as important, in the minds of Eisenhower and his bosses, as the more specific immediate purpose.

As to the Army-McCarthy hearings probably little needs to be said here. That the whole factitious proceeding was cooked up inside the White House was revealed in the hearings themselves. That Secretary Stevens had originally intended to cooperate with McCarthy, gladly and diligently, in weeding traitors out of the Army, was obvious. It was equally obvious that he gradually changed, under pressure from the White House, until in the hearings themselves he perjured himself openly and brazenly with full White House approval. A very able and patriotic U. S. Army General, Kirk Lawton, found that he had sacrificed his career by merely doing his patriotic duty in trying to help to expose the Communists under his command at Fort Monmouth. Lawton was relieved of command and retired, not just to satisfy the vengeance of George Marshall and Dwight Eisenhower, but as another warning to those Army officers who might want to emulate his brand of patriotism. All of the artificial storm and fury, from which you might have thought -- and were supposed to think -- that McCarthy had committed every crime in the book from arson to treason, eventually boiled down to the question of a censure motion against McCarthy for language and methods supposedly unbecoming a senator. The censure motion was itself written, down to the last word and comma, by agents of the Communist-loaded National Committee For An Effective Congress, and was introduced by a former supporter of the Morgenthau Plan and the Nuremberg trials, a foul-mouthed Senator named Ralph Flanders, whose own language and method

Party weekly. And to show you the kind of man Birkhead and Stout felt sure they were honoring, let me point out that among others who have been recipients of the same award are Roger Baldwin (who once publicly stated "Communism is the Goal"), with forty-two Communist-front citations in government files; and Norman Corwin, radio director for the United Nations, who has been officially cited sixty-eight times for his Communist-front affiliations.

In 1949 Eisenhower became a member of the board of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. This board had, very reluctantly, and because they could no longer flout public opinion so openly, accepted the resignation of Alger Hiss as president. They had elected as his successor Joseph Johnson, who had for years been the right-hand man of Hiss in our government. Then on December 12, 1949, this board, with Eisenhower now a member, passed a resolution deploring the "political pressure" being exerted on Dean Acheson for his defense of his friend Hiss. Eisenhower did not follow the leads of his good friends Acheson and Frankfurter, in serving as a character witness for Hiss, probably because his presence in Europe during the period of Hiss' most important activities would have kept the testimony from being of sufficient value. But in November, 1949, he did go out of his way personally to vouch for the loyalty of Philip Jessup, in a telegram to the McCarran Committee, when that committee was investigating the smelly activities of Jessup in the Institute of Pacific Relations.

It was as president of Columbia University, however, that Eisenhower got in some of his most effective blows for the cause. Best known of these was his acceptance of the grant, from the Communist puppet government of Poland, of thirty thousand dollars as an endowment for a "Chair of Polish Studies." He was

already been such a haven for Communist professors and center of Communist influence, Eisenhower would neither have wanted, nor been offered, the job of being its president. Certainly he left it more Communist-slanted than he found it. At one time he was given a list of eighty-seven people on his faculty who had records of affiliation with Communist or Communist front activities. Some of them undoubtedly were just dupes. But among them were such notorious, persistent, and industrious workers in the Communist cause as Walter Rautenstrauch, Dorothy Brewster, Bernard J. Stern, Mark Van Doren, Gene Weltfish, Robert S. Lynd, Corliss Lamont, Leslie C. Dunn, Abraham Edel, Paul F. Brissenden, Phillip Klein, Harry Grundfest, Ernest J. Simmons, Boris M. Stanfield, Donald G. Tewkesbury, Edith F. Claflin, and Goodwin Watson.

For any organization to be officially classified by government agencies as a Communist front, then as now, the evidence had to be conclusive -- and practically blinding. Yet at that time the first five names on this list already had citations in government files for participation in 62, 38, 31, 19, and 33 Communist fronts, respectively. Stern, under an assumed name, had written a Marxist book put out by the official publishing subsidiary of the Communist Party. Miss Weltfish had been president of one organization classified by the U. S. Department of Justice as Communist. And so it went, not only with these five but with others named. Just for one more illustration, the pro-Communist activities of Goodwin Watson, the last name on the list above, filled sixty-four pages in the Congressional Record. All of these facts and full information concerning all of those listed were supplied to General Eisenhower.

It was not easy to do. At all times he angrily denied and aggressively resisted any implication that

our "occupying" forces, both civilian and military, lord it over the natives of the countries where they are stationed; and, as the very reason for their existence, go about telling the poor benighted natives what to do and how to lead their lives. (In 1955, for instance, we spent nine hundred thousand dollars in Turkey, organizing and setting up labor unions -- which they had never had -- so that the Turks would have better industrial relations!)

The Kremlin-controlled Communist conspiracy is actually the most ambitiously imperialistic force that has ever come into existence on our planet. But a key maxim of Soviet policy is: Always accuse your opponent, first and loudly, of those very crimes which you yourself are committing. And since they realized they could never make us appear to anybody, for very long, as imperialists by the sword, they have steered us into becoming imperialists by the dollar. It is very easy for Russian agents and Russian propaganda to point to us as imperialists; to convince the natives everywhere that we are imperialists; and to get us hated and feared accordingly. For we have actually become imperialists, meddling in the lives, the economics, the politics, and the foreign policies, of almost every remaining country in the free world; and doing so as extensively, as obnoxiously, and almost as damagingly, as ever did a Caesar who had taken over such countries by the sword.

We even help the Communists' propaganda by giving them names on which to hang their charges. By adding a "Truman Doctrine" for Greece and Turkey and then an "Eisenhower Doctrine" for the Middle East to a once highly respected but now easily distorted Monroe Doctrine, we have appeared to intend ultimately to promulgate American "doctrines" which would definitely establish us as imperialist "protectors" of countries all over the world. Nothing could serve the Russian propaganda and psychological needs today

politics as a great and mighty power." An important member of Jackson's Council was Vaclav Majer, who had been minister for food under Prime Minister Gottwald. And the rest were all of the same stamp.

The actual broadcasting at Munich under Jackson's direction was in charge of Pavel Tigrid-Schoenfeld, a self-styled "former" Communist, who surrounded himself with Reds, and excluded every Czech patriot who had ever shown the slightest hostility to Communism. While back in the New York office, in charge of what might be called the "Czech desk," Jackson installed Ferdinand Peroutka, who had been a leading socialist advocate of Czech collaboration with the Communists before the Communists took over his country. Much of Peroutka's "fighting" of Communism from New York consisted of nasty remarks about Senator McCarthy, General MacArthur, and Senator Taft, to be broadcast in Europe. In his commentary broadcast from Munich on August 3, 1952, reporting the defeat of Senator Taft at the Republican Convention, Peroutka proclaimed, in appropriate English: "Already for a long time have we written no comments with such great joy." And that, my friends, was nothing compared to the usual stuff you were paying for with your money, to be broadcast over Radio Free Europe as a means of pushing back the Iron Curtain.

Perhaps we should give you a really fair sample, to confirm the above statement. The second country on C. D. Jackson's list for salvation was Hungary. His selection of collaborators, agents, and committee members for that operation was even worse than for Czechoslovakia, so we'll skip the details here. And this bunch of Communists and Communist-sympathizers really went to town. In fact the pro-Communism of their broadcasts was so blatant that in 1954 the West German government, catching several of the leaders out of the country simultaneously, refused to give them

to John S. Graham in the paragraph above.

31. Neil McElroy.

Secretary of Defense.

This is another step in the left-grading of the original cabinet. McElroy's only publicized contribution to the leftwing drive up to the time of his appointment -- that we know about -- was his chairmanship and handling of the White House Conference On Education. The technique known as "group dynamics" is completely a Communist technique, invented and developed by them as a clever means of manipulating the opinions within supposedly free-discussion democratic assemblages, so as to distill out of these gatherings exactly the opinions that the Communist planners wanted arrived at in the first place. McElroy made assured and brilliant use of this technique, in order to come up with a report from this conference favoring the federal government's getting both feet into public education, despite the clear record that the report did not represent the views of a majority of even the carefully selected pawns on this chess-board. So, as other better informed writers have already pointed out, there was reason to regard Mr. McElroy with considerable skepticism. And we can report, out of our own knowledge, that he was already so regarded by many of the outstanding conservative citizens of his home town of Cincinnati.

Since McElroy was made Secretary of Defense, he has shown his true colors much more emphatically. He has been an outspoken advocate of "changing our way of life" because of the Russian threat; that is, of regimenting our whole social organization under bureaucratic economic and political controls. This would impose on us exactly that form and degree of state socialism under an all-powerful central government, which the Communists are so anxious to bring about as a major step towards pulling a communized

to suggest any smelly skeletons in his rear. But there seldom is.

At any rate, Bunker is a life-long Democrat, who served as both Ambassador to Argentina, and then Ambassador to India, under Truman. Which may establish the only point really involved in his appointment. But being of a mean and suspicious nature, we cannot help mentioning at least one bag of bones which somebody found in his immaculate-looking closets. Mr. Bunker is, and for sometime has been, a member of the board of trustees of the Institute of International Education, Inc. A well-informed friend of mine says that describing the Institute as an actual branch of the Communist International, on the basis of the listing on Page 6 of The Communist Conspiracy, issued on May 29, 1956 by the House Un-American Activities Committee, is to make a too "dogmatic interpretation of a complicated relationship." Nor is there any question but that plain eggheaded liberals have found their starry-eyed way onto the Institute's board, as in the case of all other associations promoting one-worldism. But we confess to a strong prejudice against any organization of which Stephen Duggan and Ed Murrow have been the driving forces, and against any man who would accept their leadership.

33. Lawrence G. Derthick.

U. S. Commissioner of Education.

Derthick is a "liberal" Tennessee Democrat, and a close friend and protege of Senator Estes Kefauver. So we see no reason to gild the lily.

34. Gordon Gray.

Defense Mobilization Director.

Gray is a "liberal" North Carolina Democrat, who was considered "liberal" enough to have been acceptable as a successor to Frank Graham as president of the University of North Carolina. Actually we think that Gray, for all of his currently fashionable "liberal-

California primaries a couple of months ago 425,000 votes were cast for a known Communist as a candidate for an important state office!) Any conservative or anti-Communist politician in America today is having to face not only the honestly Democratic or "liberal" voters in his constituency, but a sizable bloc -- depending on the area -- of controlled votes that are not amenable to reason or arguments of any kind. That the Eisenhower State Department and its Immigration Service are deliberately and constantly increasing this bloc is common and public knowledge to everybody who has studied the plain facts. That Eisenhower personally is fully aware of this program, and is its chief supporter, is the plain fact that we wish to make clear here.

For six years Eisenhower and his associates have carried on a persistent and energetic campaign to break down the independent sovereignty of the United States, and to submerge that sovereignty under international agreements and the control of international agencies. The open boasts of the United Nations crowd -- as in the book, Revolution On East River, by James Avery Joyce -- that there is a day-by-day de facto surrender of American sovereignty to the UN, are well justified. And Eisenhower's support of this transfer of sovereignty by installments is continuous. He has emphasized over and over, for instance, that our troops are to be used, in implementation of the Eisenhower Doctrine, under the control of the United Nations Security Council.

In that Council we have one vote in eleven; Russia has a veto power over everything it doesn't like; and the United Nations Secretary for Security Council Affairs, who would have the most direct control of any such troops, has been either a Russian Communist or a Polish Communist ever since the United Nations

now are at least two-thirds of the way towards carrying out Lenin's strategy, and ruling the whole world. They are gaining speed and momentum fast. We are now the only real obstacle left in their way. And we have a Communist, or a politician who serves their purposes every bit as well, sitting right in the chair of the president of the United States.

Mr. Khrushchev was being cute, cautious, and clever when he said that our grandchildren would be living under socialism. Even that remark was meant to disarm us, by making the danger seem remote. If we do not wake up to the real facts fast, and wake up enough of our fellow citizens, it will be our children and ourselves living as enslaved subjects of the Kremlin -- possibly within five years, and certainly within ten to fifteen years at the very most. The danger is present, and it is very clear.

Two years ago I gave up my business responsibilities, and am now devoting "the whole of my life," without any pay or the expectation of remuneration of any kind, to efforts to wake up my fellow citizens to the horror and the imminence of the Communist danger. If you would like to help me to increase the reach and effectiveness of these efforts, there is a postscript to this manuscript which I shall be glad to send to any reader who requests it. EN

From the desk of
ROBERT WELCH

To put a final word at the beginning, let me explain that this document started as a letter to a friend. While it has now outgrown that format, the whole manuscript has still been written in that same spirit.

In other words, I do not try to prove anything, nor to marshal adequate evidence for either a court of law or the court of public opinion. My purpose is simply to tell a very limited number of patriotic Americans and good friends what I believe about certain aspects of our present situation, and to give some of the reasons for my belief.

Please note, too, that this version of this manuscript was finished last June, and that these copies were made by offset in August. It has not been brought up to date since that time, even though more recent developments further and strongly support its central argument.

CONFIDENTIAL

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (62-104401)

DATE: February 20, 1959

FROM : SAC, Boston (100-32899)

SUBJECT: ROBERT H. W. WELCH, Jr.
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

~~4/22/84~~
Classified by SP6 BTM/mre
Exempted from: GDPR

Re: Bureau letter dated January 28, 1959.

b6
b7c

The records of Harvard Law School, Alumni Records Office, were examined by SA RICHARD W. ALLEN on February 6, 1959, through Miss [redacted] Secretary. These records reflected that ROBERT H. W. WELCH, Jr. was at Harvard Law School from 1919 to 1921 and received no degree. He received his A.B. degree from the University of North Carolina in 1916 and as of both 1948 and 1953, was Vice President in charge of Sales and Advertising for the James O. Welch Company, Candy Manufacturers, 810 Main Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Miss [redacted] also provided the 35th Reunion Report of the Harvard Law School Class of 1922, published in 1957.

b6
b7C

In addition to the above information on ROBERT H. W. WELCH, Jr., this report reflected that he married MARIAN FROBERT in 1922 and had two sons, [REDACTED]

It also showed that he was in the U. S. Naval Academy at Annapolis during World War I and during World War II was on the Advisory Commission of the Office of Price Administration. In addition, from 1951 to 1954, he was a member of the Belmont Massachusetts School Committee and had served as a Director of several small businesses and one bank. From 1951 to 1957, he was a Director of the National Association of Manufacturers, being its Vice President from 1955 to 1957. The report listed two publications by Mr. WELCH: "May God Forgive Us" (1952) and "Life of John Birch" (1954).

On February 12, 1959, SA RICHARD W. ALLEN examined Volume 4 of "Who's Who in New England," dated 1948. In addition to the information already set out, this publication reflects that Mr. WELCH was born in Edenton, North Carolina, December 1, 1899. He was a founder of the Oxford Candy Company in 1922 and its Sales Manager in 1935. From 1940 to the time of publication, he had been Vice President and Director of Sales and Advertising of the James O. Welch Company, Cambridge, Massachusetts. As of the date of publication, he is shown as a member of the Board of Directors of Robert Welch Publishing Company; Chairman of the Board of the Washington Commission

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of the National Association of Candy Manufacturers; a member of the Board of Directors of the United Prison Association, and during World War II was a member of the Office of Price Administration Committee for the candy industry. He is shown to be the recipient of the Kettle Award by the candy industry in 1947 and a member of the Massachusetts Chess Federation (Board of Directors, 1940-1944).

Mr. WELCH is shown as a Republican and lists his clubs as: Harvard (Boston and New York), Skating (Boston), Oakley Country (Board of Directors). He is author of "Road to Salesmanship" (1941) and has contributed articles to business publications. He is further shown as a public speaker on business, economic and social conditions. His home address is shown as 43 Fletcher Road, Belmont, Massachusetts, and his office as 810 Main Street, Cambridge 39, Massachusetts.

Enclosed for the information of the Bureau is a letter dated February 11, 1959, from G-2, Governors Island, New York, and a copy of "The Politician" written by WELCH and furnished to this office by G-2. *publ. 1959*

G-2 has been advised that no investigation is being made of this matter. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/25/84 BY SP5/MR

March 3, 1959

REC-23

Mrs. [redacted]

Clinton, New York

Dear Mrs. [redacted]

b6
b7C

I have received your note dated February 21, 1959, and appreciate the motive which prompted your inquiry.

While I would like to be of service, I must advise that this Bureau has not investigated the magazine, "American Opinion," or Robert Welch, Inc., of Belmont, Massachusetts, and I am unable to be of assistance to you.

For your information, the FBI is strictly a fact-finding agency, and we do not make evaluations of individuals, publications, or organizations.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAR 3 1 06 PM '59
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

NOTE: Bufiles contain no reference to correspondent. We have not investigated the organization and individual named above, but information in our files indicates that Robert H. Welch of the Welch Candy Manufacturers publishes "American Opinion," formerly known as "One Man's Opinion." We have received copies of both publications, and we have not generally acknowledged their receipt. The magazine contains reviews of current topics, and many of the articles are anticommunist in theme. On 1-28-59 our Boston Office was instructed to be alert for any information concerning Welch's plan to organize groups which would encroach upon the Bureau's jurisdiction and responsibilities.

JK:blr (3)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

would want to subscribe to
any ~~3-3~~ magazine that
even has any slightly
pink connections -

According to the
letter from your office
which [redacted] received
this information is
top secret - Why!?!?!
Is there another agency
that I or any other
person should write
to in this information.

[redacted]
CLINTON, NEW YORK

2/21/59

b6
b7C

Dear Mr Hoover:-

I was the one
who asked [redacted]
to write to you
about the magazine
American Opinion -
Published by - Robert
Welch Inc. Belmont 78
Massachusetts -

I was terribly disappointed in the "big bug" letter he received as a reply to put it mildly -

I received a sample copy of this magazine about a year ago and it seemed to contain some interesting items so I subscribed - However this February issue I questioned. Particularly an article entitled "Some Truths about Castro" written by a J. B

Matthews - definitely stating that Castro is hooked up with the communists - all the other articles that I have read in the news papers, News Week, World Report etc claim ~~the same~~ - The general opinion seems to be that Castro is the golden haired boy - Could Mr Matthews be the only one right? Hence this letter - I, certainly, do not

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]

CLINTON, NEW YORK

It is, certainly, a fine
state of affairs when
it is not possible
to find out the
Americanism of any
Magazine or Organization.
You are investigating
people and their
connections continuously
but how are people
to stay in the chair.

if there is no where thing
can secure a report. But
the thing they question -
no wonder - no wonder it's
so easy for the communists
to collect so many dips -

Thanking you for any
suggestions which you feel
able to make - I am.

Yours sincerely

[Redacted]

(Mrs

[Redacted]

b6
b7c

DeLoach
Belmont
C. Sullivan
Baumgardner
Winkauf

S.T.
ea

The Attorney General

March 6, 1959

Director, FBI

ROBERT H. W. WELCH, JR.
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/28/84 BY SP6 BTJ/mie

Information has been received that Robert H. W. Welch, Jr., who resides at 43 Fletcher Road, Belmont, Massachusetts, and who maintains his office at 810 Main Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, has written a book entitled "The Politician." While Welch has not published this book, it appears that he has had a limited number of copies printed which he has distributed to a limited number of his friends and individuals who he believes would be interested in its contents. This book attacks the reputation of the President of the United States, particularly chapter nine which is a violent attack on President Eisenhower. There is enclosed one Photostat each of the cover page, remarks by Welch and chapter nine of this book.

MAILED 2
MAR 9 - 1959
COMM-FBI

The files of this Bureau reflect that Welch was born on December 1, 1899, at Edenton, North Carolina; is an officer and director of the James O. Welch Company, candy manufacturers, 810 Main Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts; is the editor and a director of the publication "American Opinion," which is published irregularly by him; and has recently been conducting a drive to obtain funds to be used for his anticommunist activity. In January, 1959, he addressed a group of leading industrialists of the Milwaukee Wisconsin, area on the subject of communism and the urgent need for anticommunist action in the United States. He told the group he desires to establish ostensible communist front groups throughout the United States which in reality would be anticommunist groups, and he indicated to the industrialists his plans would necessitate large financial contributions. It has been reported that the industrialists in attendance at this meeting were somewhat receptive to Welch's ideas. No further information has come to this Bureau's attention indicating additional activities on Welch's part in this regard.

REC-92 62-104401-107

62-104401

NOTE: SEE memo Baumgardner to Belmont, same caption, 3-6-59, JHK:fk.

1 - 100-7254 (Communist Front Organizations)

JHK:fk (10)

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Tolson _____
Boardman _____
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Rosen _____
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Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____
DeLoach _____
McGuire _____

The Attorney General

The above information, together with one photostat each of the above-mentioned excerpts and chapter from "The Politician" is being furnished to the Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President.

Enclosures - 3

1 - Mr. Lawrence E. Walsh
Deputy Attorney General

(Enclosures - 3)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: ROBERT H. W. WELCH, JR.
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)Mr. DeLoach
Training & Inspection Division
Mr. Belmont
Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
DATE: Mr. Kleinkauf
March 6, 1959Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Nease _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Bufiles reflect Welch, 43 Fletcher Road, Belmont, Massachusetts, office address-810 Main Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, is an officer and director of James O. Welch Company, candy manufacturers, 810 Main Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts; is editor and director of publication "American Opinion," published irregularly and containing many anticommunist articles. He has forwarded copies of publication to Bureau in past. Neither he nor publication has been subject of Bureau investigation. In January, 1959, he addressed group of leading industrialists in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, area on subject of communism, urgent need for anticommunist action in U.S., his desires to establish ostensible communist front groups which in reality would be anticommunist groups, and indicated his plans would necessitate large financial contributions. Milwaukee reported industrialists were somewhat receptive to Welch's ideas. Milwaukee and Boston instructed to be alert for information indicating further activities of Welch in this regard. To date no information received Welch has put his program into effect nor that he has conducted additional meetings. It is felt field should be alerted to Welch, his activities, and his program. Additional information received concerning Welch and his activities will be considered and any necessary action taken.

Boston letter 2-20-59 furnished background information concerning Welch indicating Welch, a Republican, has authored book entitled "The Politician." (Boston received copy of book from G-2, Governors Island, N.Y., by letter to SAC, Boston, 2-11-59. While this book (287 pages) has not been published, copies of it have been printed enclosed in spiral-type binders. It apparently has been sent to a limited number of friends and individuals who he believed would be interested in its contents. A review of book reflects it mainly is an attack on political life and beliefs of President Eisenhower. Does not appear to be based on facts but on opinions and conclusions of Welch. General theme of book is reflected in "Introduction" in which Welch states in Spring of 1953 the whole communist tyranny was in danger of being wiped off the face of the earth but "The sad truth is that this tyranny was actually saved, in this great period of vulnerability, by just one thing; by the inauguration, on January 20, 1953, of Dwight David Eisenhower as President of the United States." Chapter 9 of

62-104401

Enclosures *see 3-6-59*
1 - 100-7254 (Communist Front Organizations)

JHK:fk

(9)

REC-15

62-104401-11
MAR 10 1959

EX-135

66 MAR 12 1959

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DATE 11/28/84 BY 60371/10/1

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Memo to Mr. Belmont

Re: Robert H. W. Welch, Jr.





62-104401

book represents most violent attack on alleged political beliefs of President by being titled "The Pro-Communist." Welch, by innuendo, alludes to President as being procommunist. Examples: He states in Fall of 1945 when Russians were starting to show post war power, U.S. newspapers began to call imperialistic Russian plans to attention of readers and Eisenhower "let out a vicious blast against the 'crackpots' who were critical of Russian diplomacy and actions"; Eisenhower, despite protests of high-ranking Army officers who were bitter at strikes, stoppages and slow-downs in American production engineered by communists in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), spoke at 1946 CIO convention and praised CIO employees for their patriotism even to extent of saying they rightly shared in laurels won by American troops on battlefields; Eisenhower's acceptance of \$30,000 grant from communist government of Poland to establish "Chair of Polish Studies" at Columbia University; the organization of Arden House and its program "The American Assembly" which, according to Welch, Eisenhower claims was his greatest accomplishment at Columbia. Welch claims this was indeed an accomplishment in field of propaganda stating "it would call for my admiration if it did not intend my destruction" and "it was his greatest procommunist achievement as president of Columbia."

RECOMMENDATION:

(1) The attached letters to Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President; and Attorney General, copy Deputy Attorney General, furnishing background data on Welch and enclosing Photostats of cover page, opening remarks of Welch, and chapter 9 of book, be approved and transmitted.

(2) The attached SAC letter alerting field to Welch, his activities and program be approved and forwarded to Training & Inspection Division for preparation and distribution to the field.

3/10/59

SAC LETTER NO. 59-13

(F) ROBERT H. W. WELCH, JR. - INFORMATION CONCERNING (INTERNAL SECURITY) -- Information has been received that Welch resides at 43 Fletcher Road, Belmont, Massachusetts; maintains an office at 810 Main Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts; is an officer and director of the James O. Welch Company, candy manufacturers, 810 Main Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts; and is editor and a director of the publication "American Opinion," which he irregularly publishes and issues of which have in the past contained anticommunist articles. Neither Welch nor his publication has been the subject of Bureau investigation. In January, 1959, he met with a group of leading industrialists of the Milwaukee, Wisconsin, area, at which time he lectured on communism, the urgent need for anticommunist action in the United States and his desires to establish ostensible communist front groups which in reality would be anticommunist groups. Welch indicated he is conducting a drive to obtain funds to be used for

anticommunist activity and that his plans would necessitate large financial contributions. No further information has been received indicating Welch's success in putting his program into effect.

The personnel of your office should be made aware of Welch's activities and contemplated plans. You must be certain that your employees are alerted to promptly report to the Bureau any information concerning further activity by Welch in this regard. In the event information is received regarding any activity of Welch in the furtherance of setting his plan into operation, no investigation should be made but the Bureau should be promptly advised.

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DATE 8/20/83 BY SP8 BTJ/dd

62-104401-
NOT RECORDED

47 MAR 13 1959

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62 MAR 16 1959

ch
ont
. Sullivan

1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Kleinkauf

March 6, 1959

BY COURIER SERVICE

Honorable Gordon Gray
Special Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Gray:

Information has been received that Robert H. W. Welch, Jr., who resides at 43 Fletcher Road, Belmont, Massachusetts, and who maintains his office at 810 Main Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, has written a book entitled "The Politician." While Welch has not published this book, it appears that he has had a limited number of copies printed which he has distributed to a limited number of his friends and individuals who he believes would be interested in its contents. This book attacks the reputation of the President of the United States, particularly chapter nine which is a violent attack on President Eisenhower. There is enclosed one Photostat each of the cover page, remarks by Welch and chapter nine of this book.

The files of this Bureau reflect that Welch was born on December 1, 1899, at Edenton, North Carolina; is an officer and director of the James O. Welch Company, candy manufacturers, 810 Main Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts; is the editor and a director of the publication "American Opinion," which is published irregularly by him; and has recently been conducting a drive to obtain funds to be used for his anticommunist activity. In January, 1959, he addressed a group of leading industrialists of the Milwaukee, Wisconsin, area on the subject of communism and the urgent

62-104401

1 - 100-7254 (Communist Front Organizations)

NOTE: See memo Baumgardner to Belmont, dated 3/5/59, captioned "Robert H. W. Welch, Jr., Information Concerning, (Internal Security)." JHK:fk.

JHK:fk (9) DeLoach
McGuire
W.C. Sullivan

60 MAR 16 1959

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DATE 4/26/84 BY SP6 BJA/mjs

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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Mohr _____
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Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

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Honorable Gordon Gray

need for anticommunist action in the United States. He told the group he desires to establish ostensible communist front groups throughout the United States which in reality would be anticommunist groups, and he indicated to the industrialists his plans would necessitate large financial contributions. It has been reported that the industrialists in attendance at this meeting were somewhat receptive to Welch's ideas. No further information has come to this Bureau's attention indicating additional activities on Welch's part in this regard.

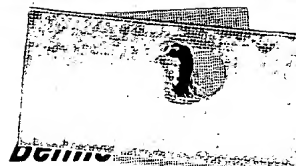
Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures - 3

AMERICAN UNION

An Inform



sachusetts

May 25, 1959

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Mr. W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

Dear Subscriber:

The enclosed petition tells its own story. Its preamble and ten points, as listed on the back, have already been entered in the Congressional Record.

MASS.

Pocket Petitions

The petition is sponsored by the COMMITTEE AGAINST SUMMIT ENTANGLEMENTS, which will send out its first mailing (without duplicating this one) during the last week of May. Except for your editor, who is acting as chairman, the Committee will be a powerhouse of patriotic Americans. Among the outstanding men and women who have already agreed to serve on CASE are Spruille Braden, Samuel B. Pettengill, Barry Goldwater, T. Coleman Andrews, Robert B. Dresser, Wint Smith, Gordon H. Scherer, J. Bracken Lee, Clarence Manion, Alfred Kohlberg, Robert B. Snowden, Fred C. Koch, John U. Barr, Suzanne Silvercruys Stevenson, A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., Ludwig von Mises, N. Floyd McGowin, Martin J. Condon, III, J. H. Gipson, Sr., Pierre S. du Pont, 3rd, and some thirty more of similar caliber and standing.

Instead of dribbling our effort over several months, we have deliberately planned a concerted and intensive drive during June and as far into July as there is time. We are appealing to every man and woman who believes in the inevitably disastrous results, for our country and for the remaining free world, of "summit" concessions and entanglements.

If every patriot we can reach will go to work promptly to get petitions signed, to spread blank petitions, and to enlist the help of others in getting more petitions signed, we can accumulate rapidly a tremendous number of signatures. And we can present a powerful front of opposition to a repetition of the 1955 performance of fraternization and appeasement.

Please do your part, do it now, and keep on doing it.

EX 109

REC-55

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

Robert Welch MASS

20 JUN 9 1959

ENCLOSURE

57 JUN 22 1959

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DATE 4-26-74

These pocket petitions are issued by the

Committee Against Summit Entanglements

The Committee respectfully petitions the President of the United States not to attend a "summit conference" with the tyrants of the Kremlin, for the following reasons.

1. It will further increase Soviet prestige.
2. It will further discourage anti-Communists everywhere and weaken their will to resist.
3. It will play right into the hands of all of the appeasement-minded politicians, and weaken the position of the firm anti-Communist statesmen, in all the governmental circles of the remaining free world.
4. The results of the last "summit conference" have proved to be huge gains for the Soviets, and huge losses for the anti-Communist forces. We should be guided by this experience.
5. Experience has further and fully demonstrated that any agreements which the Soviets do make will be ignored or broken, as soon as it suits their convenience.
6. The only questions raised or discussed will be as to *how far* we will give in to Soviet demands. Under such conditions we have all to lose and nothing to gain.
7. The President of the United States is seriously handicapped, in bargaining in any such conference with a man like Khrushchev. The President's commitments are not final, but must later be ratified by the Senate, as is well known to the Soviet Premier, who can himself speak with dictatorial authority.
8. It is an unconstitutional way for an American President to conduct foreign affairs. Treaties must be entered into with the *advice* and *consent* of the Senate. Even if retroactive consent is later obtained, both Senate and Executive are violating the Constitution as to the *advice* of the Senate during the negotiations.
9. Syngman Rhee is correct that "what is morally wrong can never be politically right." It is morally wrong to fraternize with murderers.
10. And Jacques Soustelle is correct that, when dealing with the Soviets, always or on any issue, "to negotiate is to surrender."

These petitions will be mailed, postage prepaid at
20 for \$1.00, 100 for \$3.00 1000 for \$20.00

For more petitions order from, and when each petition
is completed mail to

MR. ROBERT WELCH, for CASE
BELMONT 28, MASSACHUSETTS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-84 BY SP6 BJA/MC

Please, Mr. President, Don't Go

Name

Address

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Simpson

June 30, 1959

REC-58

113

Mrs. [redacted]

Chicago 46, Illinois

Dear Mrs. [redacted]:

Your letter postmarked June 23, 1959, has been received, and the interest which prompted your communication is indeed appreciated.

While I would like to be of service, the function of the FBI as a fact-gathering agency does not extend to furnishing evaluations or comments concerning the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. I regret, therefore, that I am unable to comply with your request for information concerning the individual you mentioned.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Chicago

ATTENTION: SAC, CHICAGO

Correspondent advised that various persons she knows have become interested in fighting communism and she believes they are sincere. These persons have become interested in Robert Welch of Belmont, Massachusetts; however, correspondent knows nothing of his background. Although realizing our work is confidential, correspondent inquires if the Bureau can furnish her any information concerning Welch. Bufiles contain no identifiable information concerning the correspondent.

Information concerning Robert Welch is set forth in Paragraph F of SAC Letter 59-13.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

RDS:pw (4)

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____

Mrs. Robert A. Hofherr

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Welch, a wealthy candy manufacturer, is editor and publisher of "American Opinion" which has in the past contained anticommunist articles. Neither Welch nor his publication has been the subject of Bureau investigation. In January, 1959, he met with a group of leading industrialists in Milwaukee, Wisconsin; lectured on communism; and presented his plan to establish ostensible communist front groups which, in reality, would be anticommunist groups. Above SAC letter alerted the field to these plans and instructed the field to promptly advise the Bureau of any information concerning Welch's activities in this regard.

1959

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 4/26/84 BY SP1634/ml

Mr. Edgar Hoover
Washington, D. C.

Robert Welch

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I don't know whether you will receive this letter - I hope you will. I am writing for advice.

Recently, people we know have become very interested in fighting communists. I believe they are very sincere in their efforts but resort to a great deal of fear talk in their discussions. It is hard for me to believe that so many of our wonderful leaders are "pink." They have become very interested in one, Robert Welch of Belmont, Mass. I know nothing of this man or his background.

I realize your work is very confidential but is there any way you can advise me regarding this man, if you know anything of him.

REC-58

13 JUL 10 1959

Thank you

EX-113

Sincerely

b6
b7C

ACK.

+cg

6-30-59

RDS:AW

Chicago 46, lcl.

(Mrs. [redacted])

COMMITTEE AGAINST SUMMIT EN

BELMONT 78, MASSACHUSETTS

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Mr. Belmont	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. McGuire	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Trotter	
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

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Gordon H. Scherer
T. G. W. Settle
Wint Smith
Robert B. Snowden
Suzanne Silvercray Stevenson
George H. Williamson

June 17, 1959

AMERICAN OPINION

9177

Dear Fellow American:

The first formal mailing by this committee was sent out on May 28. The response, immediate, enthusiastic, and widespread, is now beginning to gather real momentum.

As stated in our first letter, we are appealing to every man and woman who believes in the inevitably disastrous results, for our country and for the remaining free world, of "summit" concessions and entanglements.

The fifty thousand petitions we have mailed out to date should serve only as seed corn. With the help of every patriot we can reach directly, in sowing these petitions far and wide, we can harvest such a crop of signatures as it will be impossible to ignore. And we can present a powerful front of opposition to a repetition of the 1955 summit performance of fraternization and appeasement.

Now is the time to make your own opposition visible and effective. Put these petitions into the hands of as many others as you can, and urge everybody to get them filled out with signatures and mailed back to us as promptly as possible. We'll see that they reach Washington in a dignified and respectful manner, but with dramatic impact.

ROBERT WELCH
Sincerely,

Robert Welch

REC-60

62-104401-15

23 JUL 13 1959

ENCLOSURE

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DATE 4/24/94 BY SP4BIA/ML

57 JUL 14 1959

7-7-59

AMERICAN OPINION

In this number

THE SCOREBOARD **For 1959**

Also Articles, Letters, or Features

by

William S. Schlamm, J. B. Matthews,

Hilaire du Berrier, Walter E. Spahr,

Willis Carto and Father Hugh Halton

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 11-17-89 BY SPUBIA/mr

AN INFORMAL REVIEW

Volume II Number 7

JULY-AUGUST 1959

50¢

100-15

AMERICAN OPINION

Editor

ROBERT WELCH

Associate Editors

HUBERT KREGELOH

J. B. MATTHEWS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

HANS SENNHOLZ

Contributing Editors

COLM BROGAN

MEDFORD EVANS

RODNEY GILBERT

EDWIN McDOWELL

ELIZABETH WILSON

Editorial

Advisory Committee

The following group of distinguished Americans give the editor comments and advice which are helpful in determining the editorial policy, contents, and opinions of this magazine. But no responsibility can be attributed to any members of this Committee for any specific articles, items, or conclusions which appear in these pages.

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GEORGE H. WILLIAMSON

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May 17, 1959

Dear Reader:

We have just been told that we are extremists. And we appreciate the compliment.

A Communist insists that black is white. The let's-be-reasonable Mollifier is willing to concede that black is a dark gray, for the sake of being conciliatory. The Extremist says black is black, period.

The Communist frequently insists that two plus two equals five. The Mollifier says of course that is ridiculous and reprehensible, but let's grant, in order not to appear reactionary, that two plus two might equal four and one-half. The Extremist says two plus two can never add up to four and even one millionth more. Two plus two is *four*, and that ends the argument.

The Communist says that all things are relative. The Mollifier says well, there are some lasting principles, but we must be progressive and bend them a bit around the edges. The Extremist says there are certain eternal truths, which are not relative at all, and that no human progress is possible when they are ignored.

The Communist asks only, between lie and truth: Which serves my purpose better? The Mollifier thinks that telling the truth is desirable, but that we should consider how much will be believed. The Extremist knows that nothing else but the truth can even be considered.

The Communist says that he is an idealist. The Mollifier says well, maybe so, but that the Communist is mistaken and should be argued with until he sees the error of his ways. The Extremist says that a Communist is a Communist is a Communist, everywhere in the world; and that the only realistic goal of the rest of the world towards Communists is their complete extermination.

We are glad we are recognized as extremists. Hoping you are the same, I am

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

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A Review Of The News

*This is a magazine of opinion. But opinion should
be based on facts. Here are the facts for*

May, 1959

Friday, May 1

→ "Authoritative diplomatic sources" reveal in Paris that the Western foreign ministers are prepared to go to the Geneva conference with the Soviets committed to "a certain flexibility of negotiation."

→ The Cuban invasion force in Panama surrenders to government troops.

→ Clare Boothe Luce resigns from her Senate-confirmed post as United States Ambassador to Brazil.

→ Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery declares in London on his return from Moscow that he now sees "a gleam of light at the end of the tunnel."

→ Abdel Kader Chanderli, spokesman for the Algerian Front of National Liberation at the United Nations, asserts that President de Gaulle has adopted "a policy of war" toward the Algerian rebel movement.

Saturday, May 2

→ The Soviet press rejects the western attempt "to link the Berlin problem with that of general European security" in a "package deal."

→ Former New York Governor W. Averell Harriman announces that he will soon have "a very frank talk" with Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev.

→ A Soviet diplomat, Colonel Mikhail I. Stryguine, is hustled out of Rangoon,

Burma, by forty Soviet guards on a plane after he had tried to escape from a local hospital, allegedly to establish contacts with western diplomats.

→ President Mohammed Ayub Khan of Pakistan warns that Communism is making essential inroads in the Middle East.

→ President Sukarno of Indonesia demands that Communist China "should occupy a place in the United Nations."

→ Hugh Gaitskell, leader of the British Labor Party, protests against "even the slightest appearance that the American Government is intervening in a British general election."

→ Former Socialist Premier of France, Guy Mollet, calls for a rally of the French left behind General de Gaulle.

Sunday, May 3

→ Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary General of the United Nations, suggests that the Big Four powers "might find it useful to pass the problems of Berlin to the United Nations should they fail to reach a direct agreement."

→ Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba proposes in Buenos Aires that the United States provide thirty billion dollars over the next ten years "to make Latin America safe for democracy."

→ The retirement of General Earle E. Partridge, Commander of the North American Air Defense Command, is

A Review Of The News

revealed as a consequence of disagreements between high Air Force officers and the White House.

→ The Association of the United States Army denounces Pentagon policies that "are leaving the nation with no choice but to show the flag or engage in thermonuclear war."

→ Thirty-five professors of law schools at Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Pennsylvania and Yale publish a statement in opposition to proposals before the Senate Judiciary Committee that are meant to toughen internal security laws.

→ Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and President Sekou Touré of Guinea sign an agreement "immediately to lay the foundation of a Union of Independent African States."

→ United States exports of goods and services to Western Europe dropped in 1958 to 6.8 billion dollars while Western European exports to the United States rose to 7.2 billion dollars.

Monday, May 4

→ The United States Ambassador to Moscow demands from Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev information on eleven fliers who have been missing since the crash of a United States C-130 transport in Soviet Armenia last September.

→ Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru rules out any defense arrangement between India and Pakistan.

→ British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd asserts that his Government "is prepared to be flexible about details and to be patient in negotiations" with the Soviets.

→ Sir Winston Churchill arrives for a short visit with President Eisenhower.

→ The Soviet delegation to the "nuclear disarmament conference" in Geneva expresses its "welcome" for the United States Senate Resolution that expresses the Senate's support for a controlled ban on nuclear weapons tests.

→ The Soviet Government issues a second official warning to Japan against permitting United States nuclear bases on Japanese territory.

→ A Communist-controlled strike wave paralyzes Italy's metal industries.

→ Vice President Richard M. Nixon asserts that United States aid to Socialist India could be more important than a successful outcome of the negotiations with the Soviet Union on Berlin.

Tuesday, May 5

→ President Eisenhower declares that a summit meeting is a "foregone conclusion" if there is "some progress" at the forthcoming Geneva conference.

→ Samir el-Rifal, the pro-Western strong man behind young King Hussein of Jordan, resigns as Prime Minister.

→ United States Ambassador John T. Jernegan returns from Baghdad to report directly on the steady advance of Communism in Iran.

→ John Moors Cabot of Boston, United States Ambassador to Colombia, is chosen to succeed Clare Boothe Luce as United States Ambassador to Brazil.

→ The Argentine Government is assured of 350 million dollars in United States aid during 1959.

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev tells West

A Review Of The News

German newspapermen in Moscow that his main interest in the Geneva conference will be to obtain allied agreement for a peace treaty with "the two German states."

→ Wilbur M. Brucker, Secretary of the Army, and General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, the new Army Chief of Staff, testify before the Senate Appropriations Committee that the budget has been cut lower than the best military estimates.

→ J. Harold Grady, Democratic State Attorney of Maryland, defeats Theodore R. McKeldin, prominent Eisenhower Republican, in the Baltimore mayoralty race with a record plurality.

Wednesday, May 6

→ French Prime Minister Michel Debré visits Chancellor Konrad Adenauer in Bonn to strengthen the Franco-German joint position of firmness in the forthcoming Geneva conference.

→ Officials of the Nationalist Chinese Government on Taipei report "an unusual increase" in Communist military activities opposite Quemoy and Matsu.

→ Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, Senate Republican leader, says the White House is "deeply concerned" over the Congressional attempts at keeping Army and Marine manpower at higher levels than President Eisenhower wants.

→ "Qualified diplomatic sources" in Tokyo assert that "neutralization" of Japan is now the primary goal of Communism in Asia.

→ According to sworn testimony before a Senate committee, the *New York Times* and two other New York papers

have paid big sums of money in "pay-offs" to various labor leaders.

Thursday, May 7

→ In a report to the nation, Secretary of State Christian A. Herter confesses to "cautious optimism" concerning the Geneva conference.

→ President Charles de Gaulle says the pacification of Algeria is now "in sight."

→ General Clyde I. Eddleman, Commander of the United States Army in Europe, asserts that Western military forces would "suffer no strategic or tactical disadvantage" if they were to withdraw west of the Rhine.

→ Colonel Arnaldo Schulz, Portuguese Minister of the Interior, reveals that a Communist-inspired attempted uprising had been suppressed in March.

→ Subsidized by Enrico Mattei, the boss of Italy's state-owned fuel trust, "Il Giorno" of Milan, one of the country's most influential newspapers, openly demands a coalition government ranging from the left wing of the Christian Democratic party to the Communists.

→ Senator J. W. Fulbright attacks America's "failure" in understanding "three world-wide revolutions while the Soviet Union, by contrast, was exploiting all three."

Friday, May 8

→ The British Government "studies" requests of the Iraqi Government to re-equip the entire Iraqi army with British weapons.

→ Secretary of the Navy Thomas S.

A Review Of The News

Gates, Jr., whose resignation becomes effective in June, assails "the policy of concentrating on a strategic nuclear weapons build-up at the expense of the nation's capacity to deal with limited wars."

→ Donald A. Quarles, Deputy Secretary of Defense, dies of a heart attack.

→ Eighty thousand Italian bank employees go on strike.

→ Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlavi of Iran denies in London that a revolt against his regime "is possible."

Saturday, May 9

→ Secretary of State Christian A. Herter asserts on arrival in Geneva his hope that the Big Four conference will reduce international tension.

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev declares that in any future conflagration "the Western powers will be literally wiped off the face of the earth."

→ The Soviet press declares the United States fomented and financed the Cuban-based invasion of Panama to discredit Fidel Castro's Government.

→ John Edgar Hoover ends his 35th year as head of the F.B.I.

Sunday, May 10

→ At the opening of the Geneva conference, the Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko demands that the delegations of West and East Germany be admitted to participate in the negotiations.

→ Austria's Socialist Party wins a plurality in general elections but emerges with only seventy-eight to the Conservative People's Party's seventy-nine seats

in the new National Assembly. The Communists are no longer represented at all.

→ Jordan's new premier, Hazza Majalis, vows his country's "neutrality."

→ Luis Corvolan, secretary general of the Chilean Communist Party, hails Fidel Castro's regime.

→ President Mohammed Ayub Khan of Pakistan declares he is "very keen to resolve outstanding disputes with India."

Monday, May 11

→ The Western powers agree that an East German and a West German delegation shall be seated at separate tables at the Geneva conference to perform "in advisory capacities."

→ The British Government announces its approval of substantial arms sales to Iraq including tanks and jet bombers.

→ King Baudouin of Belgium arrives for a state visit in Washington.

→ It is revealed that Paraguayan exiles negotiated in Cuba, last February, with representatives of Premier Fidel Castro an armed intervention against the regime of Paraguayan President General Alfredo Stroessner.

→ French extremists in Algiers, shouting "De Gaulle to the gallows!" demonstrate against the Algeria policy of the French Government.

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev declares that the Soviet Union has rockets "in the necessary quantity" and may before long reduce their production.

→ The United States Government reports that employment has reached an

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April record with sixty-five million jobs. Unemployment fell to 3,627,000, the lowest since December, 1957.

Tuesday, May 12

→ Widening their propagandistic drive to appear as the defenders of European self-determination against American "meddling," the Soviets demand the admission of Communist Poland and Czechoslovakia to the Geneva conference.

→ Harvard University and the University of Leningrad agree on the exchange of professors.

→ Representative Frank Kowalski reveals that sixty-two enlisted men are assigned to the White House as chauffeurs and messboys (and 180 enlisted men at the Pentagon in similar jobs.)

Wednesday, May 13

→ In his opening speech at the Geneva conference Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko asserts that West Germany is being turned into the springboard for the Western nuclear attack on Soviet Russia.

→ President Eisenhower expresses his hope for fruitful negotiations in Geneva.

→ French residents in Algeria shun the official celebration of last year's "uprising" that brought de Gaulle to power, while large Moslem delegations join the French army in anniversary demonstrations.

→ The State Department announces plans to create a new division, manned by forty-three new appointees, that is to study all phases of the political and economic offensive of the Soviet empire.

→ In Italy, the Segni Government reveals plans to revamp the "state industries" which, under the present setup, provide Enrico Mattei, the operator of Christian Democracy's "left wing," with immense powers.

→ Argentina's President Arturo Frondizi, bowing to military pressure, fires Rogelio Frigerio, his chief economic adviser, who allegedly sympathizes with both Peron and the Communists.

Thursday, May 14

→ Secretary of State Christian A. Herter presents in Geneva the West's plan for a "permanent settlement in Europe" that proposes "four stages": the Four Powers pledge renunciation of the use of force; Berlin is reunited by free elections; the Governments of West and East Germany form a joint committee to prepare free all-German elections; the newly elected all-German Assembly and Government negotiates a peace treaty with all Four Powers.

→ The so-called Foreign Minister of the East German Quisling regime, Dr. Lothar Bolz, assumes in Geneva an increasingly important role as "spokesman of the German Democratic Republic."

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev reaffirms that the Soviet Union will insist on its demands that West Berlin "must become a free city."

→ Peronist and Communist unions declare "a national strike" in the strategic Argentine cities.

→ Indian Prime Minister Nehru rejects Pakistan's bid for resolving the disputes between the two countries.

→ It is announced that General Nathan

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F. Twining, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, suffers from cancer.

Friday, May 15

→ Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko asks the United States, Britain and France "to postpone German reunification" and concentrate on a Berlin settlement.

→ The United States asks the Soviet Union to extend "the cultural exchange agreement between the two nations."

→ Thomas E. Murray, former Atomic Energy Commissioner, asserts that a ban on atomic tests will have "disastrous effects on the nation's security."

→ Three hundred thousand former Sudeten Germans stage a monster rally in Vienna to claim their former homes in Czechoslovakia.

→ The Japanese Government accuses the Soviet Union of meddling in Japanese affairs.

Saturday, May 16

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev rejects the Western "package proposal" in Geneva and demands that the issues be discussed separately.

→ Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery calls Khrushchev "brilliant" and says he believes that "coexistence" is possible.

→ The Soviet Government announces its willingness to discuss the United States proposals concerning a ban and control of nuclear tests.

→ President Charles de Gaulle bars San Francisco as a site for the forthcoming "summit conference."

→ The West German press empha-

sizes that the Western "package deal" submitted in Geneva grants the East German regime veto power in the proposed "joint committee" that is to draft all-German election laws.

→ The strength of John Foster Dulles is reported waning.

Sunday, May 17

→ Two days after the Western powers submitted their "package" ("all or nothing") deal in Geneva, "authoritative United States spokesmen in Geneva assert that the United States is contemplating discarding the "package deal" for the time being and negotiating an interim arrangement concerning West Berlin.

→ Communist China's artillery bombards Matsu island for ninety minutes.

→ President Gamal Abdel Nasser proposes a "summit conference" of the "neutralist" powers—India, Yugoslavia, Indonesia and the United Arab Republic.

→ Pope John XXIII assails Communist attempts to foment a schism in the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary.

→ India's chief permanent delegate to the United Nations declares that, no matter "how deplorable the Tibetan situation might be," the relations between India and Communist China "should not get bad."

→ The nation's output of goods and services reached in the first quarter of 1959 a record annual rate of 467 billion dollars.

Monday, May 18

→ Violent reaction in France and Ger-

many make the United States withdraw its unofficial offer to negotiate an "interim" arrangement of the Berlin situation.

→ Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko expresses his Government's willingness to accept the Western proposal of a "mixed" committee constituted by the Governments of West and East Germany.

→ W. Averell Harriman applies for State Department permission to visit Communist China "as a newspaper correspondent."

→ Secretary of the Navy Thomas S. Gates, Jr. is nominated to succeed the late Donald A. Quarles as Deputy Secretary of Defense. At the same time Admiral Arthur W. Radford, General Twining's predecessor as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is recalled for active duty.

→ The Czechoslovak Communist Government protests against the Sudeten German rally in Vienna.

→ Two Marxist members of the Cabinet quit in Ceylon.

→ Democratic Senator J. W. Fulbright and Republican Senator George D. Aiken demand that Khrushchev be invited to visit the United States.

→ The Cuban Government decrees that no sugar cane plantation can be operated by a company that has a single foreigner among its stockholders.

Tuesday, May 19

→ Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko suggests in Geneva that, to resolve the "Berlin crisis," either "token" Soviet forces be added to the Western

occupation troops in West Berlin or that all Western garrisons be replaced by "neutral forces" supplied by the United Nations.

→ The West German Government decides that, to prevent the presence of East German delegates, it will not participate in a "summit meeting."

→ After a four-months battle the Senate Commerce Committee approves the confirmation of Lewis L. Strauss as Secretary of Commerce by a vote of nine to eight.

→ Defense Secretary Neil H. McElroy announces that he has suspended "indefinitely" his plans to resign in the fall.

→ The State Department grants Vincent ("Jimmy") Sheean, a close friend of Nehru and the Premier of Communist China, Chou En-lai, permission to open a "news bureau" in Peiping.

→ James R. Hoffa, president of the Teamsters Union, threatens a nationwide strike if Congress were to place unions under antitrust laws.

Wednesday, May 20

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev tells a group of Florida businessmen visiting in Moscow that the Geneva conference "will be successful."

→ A spokesman for the Algerian rebels announces at the United Nations in New York that an Algerian delegation, headed by "the Secretary of State of the Algerian Provisional Government," Omar Oussedik, has completed an agreement with the Chinese Red Government whereby Red China will give weapons and military assistance to the Algerian rebels.

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→ The West German Government announces the arrest of several East German spies who penetrated into governmental positions in Bonn.

→ William C. Stolk, head of American Can Company, pledges that his company will enter politics to oppose "powerful forces which are seriously undermining our political and economic system."

→ The House of Representatives turns down the Administration's Housing Bill by a vote of 203 to 177, and passes legislation that exceeds the Administration proposals by more than 500 million dollars a year.

Thursday, May 21

→ In a basic concession to Soviet demands British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd declares in Geneva that his Government "will not object if a supervisory commission for an all-German election is composed of citizens from neutral countries."

→ President Charles de Gaulle demands the appointment of a French commander of NATO's naval forces in the Mediterranean.

→ In spite of their election victory which gave them seventy-eight to the Christian Social People's Party's seventy-nine seats in Vienna's Parliament, the Austrian Social Democrats accept Chancellor Julius Raab as the leader of a new coalition government.

→ The "liberal" omnibus housing bill is passed by the House of Representatives by 261 to 160 votes in the face of Presidential veto threats.

Friday, May 22

→ Secretary of State Christian A. Herter

declares in Geneva that the United States is ready to resume at any time general disarmament negotiations with the Soviet Union.

→ The French Army warns seventeen French Rightists in Algiers to behave or risk being expelled from Algeria.

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev tells the West German Ambassador to Moscow, Dr. Hans Kroll, that he will sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany if no East-West agreement is reached in Geneva.

→ The Philippine Congress adjourns in revolt against the heavy tax program of President Carlos P. Garcia.

→ The Senate votes a \$35,000 limit to price support payments made to any one farmer in a single year.

Saturday, May 23

→ The Western Foreign Ministers urge secret negotiations to "break the stalemate in Geneva."

→ The Soviet Union asks the United States to abandon its program of supplying nuclear weapons to its NATO allies.

→ The Cuban Government "nationalizes" seven Cuban airlines.

→ President Eisenhower's Science Advisory Committee recommends that the nation's annual educational expenses be at least doubled, to eighteen billion dollars.

→ J. Edgar Hoover, director of the F.B.I., warns that the United States Communists are emerging from the underground and are more dangerous than ever.

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→ The United States Information Agency blacklists eighty-two Hollywood movies against showing in overseas countries because of their anti-American inflections.

Sunday, May 24

→ John Foster Dulles dies of cancer at the age of seventy-one.

→ Great Britain signs a five-year trade agreement with the Soviet Union that will bring "a substantial expansion in mutual trade," including the British export of complete chemical, synthetics, tire and food-processing plants.

→ The British Government expresses its belief that it will be possible "to negotiate a supplementary agreement over Berlin with the Soviet Union in Geneva."

→ The East German delegation in Geneva informs the Western powers that the East German regime is "willing" to accept the status as "agents of the Soviet Union" in the control of communications with West Berlin.

→ Marek Hlasko, a Polish Communist writer whose "defection" has been celebrated throughout the West, is "permitted" to return to Poland.

→ General Maxwell D. Taylor, retiring Army Chief of Staff, insists that the country's air defense is and ought to remain the Army's mission.

Monday, May 25

→ The Geneva conference adjourns to enable the Foreign Ministers of all four powers to attend the Washington funeral of John Foster Dulles.

→ Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A.

Gromyko declares in Geneva that the Soviet Government "favors in principle" the Western proposal to create an "all-German committee" in preparing all-German elections.

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev starts a twelve-days visit to Albania which will be also visited by representatives of Red China and all satellites.

→ French Minister of Finance Antoine Pinay invites American investments in France by offering "every desirable guarantee to foreign investors."

→ Six thousand refugee Kurds are reported fighting the forces of Premier Abdul Karim Kassem in Iraq.

→ The General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church demands the recognition of Red China by the United States.

→ Assistant Chief of Naval Operations for Research and Development, Admiral John T. Hayward, warns Congress that the country will have spent by 1963 almost fifty billion dollars for a type of air defense which will by then have "faded away."

Tuesday, May 26

→ The first "secret" session in Geneva is scheduled for May 29.

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev warns Italy and Greece that the Soviet Union will answer their permission for the United States to establish rocket bases in the two countries with Soviet rocket bases in nearby Albania.

→ French Premier Michel Debré admonishes the French Chamber of Deputies not to try to recapture some of its previous powers.

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→ Liberia, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea and the United Arab Republic will hold a conference early in August to consider all-African aid to the Algerian rebels.

→ The House Foreign Relations Committee cuts the President's request for 3.9 billion dollars in Foreign Aid by 267 million dollars.

→ The Senate Foreign Relations Committee approves the appointment of Ogden R. Reid, formerly of the *New York Herald Tribune*, as Ambassador to Israel, by a vote of ten to four.

Wednesday, May 27

→ At his funeral, John Foster Dulles is honored by the representatives of all nations, including the Soviet Union and Nationalist China.

→ In pursuit of Algerian rebel forces French army units enter Tunisia.

→ Nicaraguan exiles in Costa Rica, Mexico, and Cuba are getting ready for armed intervention against Nicaraguan President Somoza's regime.

→ The Congress of the Soviet Writers Union elects a close friend and supporter of Boris Pasternak, Konstantin A. Fedin, as its secretary. A dispatch from Moscow announces that publication of Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* in the Soviet Union "is not to be precluded."

→ Overton Brooks, Chairman of the House Space Committee, discloses and protests against a plan of Representative Victor L. Anfuso to take a Subcommittee to Moscow for talks with Nikita S. Khrushchev.

Thursday, May 28

→ President Eisenhower holds a conference with the Big Four Foreign Ministers in Washington and expresses his hopes that a "summit conference" will become possible.

→ The Bonn Government expresses its grave worries about Western plans, discussed in Geneva, to undertake "a token reduction" of the Western garrison in West Berlin and to end all anti-Communist propaganda there.

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev urges Greece to withdraw from NATO.

→ In the course of prolonged labor unrest the Argentine Government arrests three hundred labor leaders.

→ Two monkeys are rocketed from Cape Canaveral three hundred miles into space and then recovered alive.

→ The United States Treasury seeks an increase in the national debt limit by twelve billion dollars to 295 billion dollars.

Friday, May 29

→ After secret talks during their flight to Geneva on a United States Airforce DC-6B, the Big Four Foreign Ministers continue "private sessions" in Geneva with "hope for accord" rising in diplomatic quarters.

→ The Soviet press plays up a proposal to create "a zone of peace" in the strategic area of the Mediterranean, including Italy and Greece, that "should be freed" from atomic weapons and rocket bases.

→ Representative Victor L. Anfuso of the House Space Committee insists

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that he and some colleagues will go to Moscow for talks with Khrushchev.

→ West German Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss discloses that the East German regime has trained more than a million persons in the use of arms.

→ Jordan's Deputy Commander in Chief of the armed forces and nine other officers are arrested for an alleged plot against King Hussein.

→ The first Soviet vessel to reach the East Coast in ten years is granted permission to sail through the newly opened strategic St. Lawrence Seaway.

Saturday, May 30

→ Speaking for Britain, France, and the United States, British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd announces in Geneva that the West is ready to consider "reduction of anti-Communist activities" in West Berlin.

→ President Luis A. Somoza imposes martial law throughout Nicaragua after several days of preparations for a general strike against his regime.

→ Singapore's Red People's Action Party scores a landslide victory in elections that give the pro-Communists forty-three of fifty-one seats in the Legislative Assembly.

→ On his return to Bonn from Washington Dr. Adenauer refuses to consider a reply to Ulbricht's letter demanding "a non-aggression pact."

→ Indonesia's constituent assembly refuses to grant President Sukarno dictatorial powers.

→ Governor Earl K. Long of Louisiana enters Galveston's John Sealy Hospital for psychiatric treatment.

Sunday, May 31

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev warns the West that "to attack us is tantamount to suicide" and concentrates his fire against the Adenauer Government.

→ The Western Foreign Ministers in Geneva urge Andrei A. Gromyko to reveal the Soviet bargaining position concerning Berlin, repeating their own readiness to compromise.

→ W. Averell Harriman, in Moscow on his way to Red China, asserts that the Soviets have "a nostalgic longing to recapture the friendly relations that existed with the United States during the war years when I served as Ambassador here."

→ Senatorial elections in Algeria result in a defeat of the French Rightists and a victory of moderate Moslem elements.

→ According to testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 140,000 Christian Chinese have been killed by the Reds.

→ Strikes and demonstrations quiet down under the newly imposed stage of siege in Paraguay.

Worth Noting

General Zhukov: "Russia will not move into the final campaign for the conquest of the world until she has made sure of the manpower of China and India."

Quoted by Geraldine Fitch

We Pause To Remark

It is always of interest to learn who is really running things on the banks of the Potomac. Just because Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. has dodged a few income taxes in his time, has failed to dodge a few associations with Communists, and has committed a few other trifling indiscretions, some of our readers may be oldfashioned and reactionary enough to look at him a bit askance. But these unkind views apparently are not shared by the "Republican" administration in Washington.

For about the middle of January of this year Congressman Powell permitted himself to make a revealing boast. "Meeting in conference," he said, "with my friend, Dr. Mario Llanera, the representative of Señor Castro, I requested on last Monday, January 5, at 11:30: First, the recognition of the Castro government. Second, the offer of financial assistance. Third, the refusal of asylum in the United States to Batista. Fourth, the recall of former Ambassador Earl Smith. I am happy to say that within five days the State Department did all four of these things."

Of course, the Congressman may have been overrating his personal prowess. For it is hardly a coincidence that every one of these four things was obviously and ardently desired by Moscow, which for years has had far more influence over our State Department than even Mr. Powell.

* * *

As part of the glorious and expanding cultural exchange program between

the Soviets and ourselves, the American National Exhibition in Moscow will be opened on July 25 by Vice President Nixon. It is billed by the USIA as containing "cultural, scientific, and technological exhibits designed to further Soviet understanding of life in America."

The USIA press announcement contained the names of the sixty-seven artists whose works will be displayed at the exhibition. A routine check by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, of material already in their files, showed that twenty-two of these sixty-seven artists had between them a minimum of 465 connections with Communist fronts and causes. What a complete check on all sixty-seven would reveal, nobody knows.

And obviously, the pictures by these men have not been chosen on any such silly basis as merely "art for art's sake." The Communist *Daily Worker* has said of Ben Shahn, whose work is included: "Shahn has always considered art as a medium for the communication of ideas. . . . He is one of our finest artists and best social painters." (*Italics added by your editor.*) This ought to give you the key to the performance. The whole exhibit will in general help the Kremlin to convince its enslaved people that its vicious propaganda about American class struggles and class suffering is true. Here will be paintings by "American" artists to prove it—in a show paid for by your money, gentle reader.

EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Due to the activities arranged for Mr. Schlamme by his publisher, in connection with the appearance in May of GERMANY AND THE EAST-WEST CRISIS, he did not leave for Europe as early as intended. There were television appearances, radio broadcasts, and other opportunities for telling the world about his new book which no author in his right mind could be expected to forego.

So this article still had to be written in New York. And we were already to start fussing about that fact until we discovered that, in our opinion, it is probably the best EUROPEAN SURVEY Mr. Schlamme has yet written. However, when Mr. Schlamme discovered our discovery that maybe he could turn out these articles just as well in Brooklyn, he took off for Europe like a shot. And the next one will undoubtedly be datelined from some village hanging to an Alp, that we can't even find on the map. But we are sure it will be just as painstakingly done, just as penetrating, and just as sound as this one.

WHAT SOUNDED and looked to Americans like a witless vaudeville act—that inane haggling over the shape of conference tables at the beginning of the Geneva shindig — was for knowing Europeans the entire plot. There just is no more to it. That is *all* Geneva was about. And it is plenty.

As you will recall, the diplomatic "compromise" consisted of the Western concession to the Soviet demand of a "round table," topped by a joint Western-Soviet decision to seat both, East and West Germany, at two separate square tables. Americans, I am afraid, laughed at this rigmarole of diplomatic burlesque. They should not have laughed. The table arrangements at the opening of the Geneva conference will go down in history as a major breakthrough of the Communist thrust into Western Europe.

The Game-Of-Germany Was Conceded . . .

What was, from the beginning, the strategic Soviet intent in producing the "Berlin crisis?" Nothing but the Communist determination to attain a Western recognition of the East German regime. Everything else — particularly the propaganda-inflated phony "demand" for a withdrawal of the measly Western garrison in West Berlin — was the characteristic routine of professional horse traders. They pretend that they are seeking what is unattainable in order to attain what they *really* want. And so the Soviets were confidently hoping that the Western powers, at the end of the Geneva palaver, would finally accept the East German regime, in exchange for a gracious Soviet "permission" to keep Western troops in Berlin. But the

Soviets were wrong. They got what they were hoping for, not at the end of the Geneva conference. They got it the first day.

The crucial question before the house was whether, and for what price, the Western Foreign Ministers would admit an East German delegation into the conference room. For up to that day no Western power, and particularly not the United States, had taken any cognizance of the wretched Quisling Germans (most of them actually naturalized citizens of the Soviet Union), who are on the Soviet payroll in East Germany. Moscow had insisted on calling the Geneva conference to probe the circumstances under which the Western powers might reconsider their rigid position of the last ten years. And I am quite confident that not even the boldest Soviet diplomat thought it possible that the Western powers would ever grant the East German Quislings diplomatic equality with the legitimate Bonn Government. Yet this is exactly what the United States, Britain and France granted even before the Geneva conference began.

Consider what really happened. A bunch of freely admitted Soviet agents appeared in Geneva calling themselves representatives of a non-existing sovereign structure called "German Democratic Republic." And right away these characters were seated in the conference room of the world powers in exactly the same fashion and strength as were the representatives of West Germany! Their spokesman, a Soviet citizen by the name of Dr. Lothar Bolz, was addressed as "Foreign Minister of East Germany" and could speak at will on exactly the same terms as the Foreign Minister of West Germany!

In short, the Geneva conference started on what the Soviets had hoped might be the outcome of a dangerous squeeze play — the *via facti* recognition of the East German regime. Even among the village idiots of Europe there is not a single person willing to overlook that fact: No matter what euphemism the West will use to describe the sin, it has recognized the East German regime.

Before It Was Played . . .

There was, of course, another attitude open for Secretary of State Christian A. Herter, and all Europe expected him to follow it. True, no one in Europe was hoping for an especially convincing show of strength on the part of the Western Foreign Ministers. However, everybody expected that Herter, at his very first appearance on the international stage, would at least play the game with the modicum of prudence even a beginner is capable of. That is, that Herter would have enough sense to tell the Soviets: Look, if you want those so-called East Germans in on the conference, you will have to take them on your own staff, as your advisers or whatever title you want to give them; but our recognizing them in their own rights is evidently what you want to achieve in bargaining with us — decidedly not to be had before the bargaining starts.

Had Dr. Lothar Bolz been permitted to serve the Soviet delegation in the advisory capacity of a Soviet clerk, it would have been bad enough; for the fearful half of the West German electorate would even then have felt the shivers of suspicion that, in the end, West Germany will have to come to terms with Ulbricht. But what Herter

permitted to happen is incomparably worse. For now the recognition of Ulbricht by the West is no longer a matter of apprehensive speculation but a foregone conclusion. And Germans cannot even console themselves with the thought that Herter simply committed a blunder. As it happened, the definitive and irreparable mistake of the first conference day was followed by a disclosure of a carefully prepared plan of the Western powers which has all the earmarks of deliberate surrender.

With Pusillanimous Trimmings . . .

The central part of that plan is the proposal that "an all-German committee" be set up to prepare all-German elections. It should consist (and this is not the end of Western bargaining with the Soviets but the Western initial proposal!) of twenty-five West and ten East German delegates, which thirty-five members should make *valid decisions only with a three-fourths majority*. The West, in other words, began the Geneva conference with granting East Germany a veto over all future decisions concerning the "unification" of Germany. For the "all-German" committee could not reach a decision unless at least three East Germans voted with the West Germans. This, I repeat, was the West's starting position! The Geneva conference, in short, was over before it began — and it ended on its very first day with a total Soviet victory.

The truly cruel and in its consequences unforeseeable part of the pathetic Western conduct was the treatment given to Adenauer's delegation. The Western Foreign Ministers had neither the gracefulness nor the wit to

think of some diplomatic formality, some saving detail, some encouraging gesture that would have impressed Europe in general, and the Germans in particular, that West Germany remains a full-fledged Western ally, all Geneva maneuvers notwithstanding. On the contrary, the European press that gathered in Geneva reported the debacle to the hilt and left no mistake that, in truth, Dr. Lothar Bolz was the star of the conference — not because of anything he said or did, but simply because the *via facti* recognition of Ulbricht by the West was indeed the great event. And, by the same token, the stature of the Adenauer regime shrank to an unprecedented low.

Consider the impossible position into which the Adenauer Government has been pushed at home! For the last ten years, the one great issue that divided the Adenauer majority and the Social Democratic minority was whether or not "reunification" should be "negotiated" with Ulbricht. The defeatist "neutralists" on the left insisted that this was the only "reasonable" policy; the mature and courageous forces in Germany, magnificently led by Adenauer, refused the mere thought of recognizing Ulbricht's Quislings. And, so long as this reflected the American position, Adenauer rallied a majority of Germans, each time, primarily because the Germans — who, more than anything else, do not want to be on the losing side ever again — remained willing to follow the American lead. But Adenauer has built on sand; at the first crucial moment the United States Government was ready, not only to grant Ulbricht any right to "negotiate" German unification, but to grant him a veto right over Adenauer's ideas.

And Disastrous Results . . .

As I said, the consequences of this collapse are unforeseeable. For the moment, the horror, the anger of the West Germans over the Western breakdown is so great that, if anything, they seem to be more strongly united behind Adenauer than ever before; even the Social Democrats do not dare take advantage of the national catastrophe. But this may change fast, and certain signs of deterioration are already appearing.

For one, the backstage quarrelling over whether Dr. Erhard or Dr. Etzel should succeed Adenauer implied much more serious conflicts within the ruling Christian Democracy than met the eye. I most certainly do not mean to say that Dr. Erhard himself is an appeaser; but, whatever his own convictions may be, there is little doubt that those Christian Democrats who advocate "a rapprochement" with the "neutralist" Social Democracy have been backing him against Adenauer's first choice, Dr. Etzel.

Furthermore, the domestic opposition against Dr. Adenauer is speedily recovering from the shock produced by Adenauer's decision to assume the Presidency in September but to govern until then. A grave constitutional issue has been raised which, it seems, has been inadequately considered by Dr. Adenauer. The West German Constitution, on more careful reading, prescribes that the person elected President next July must give up his political partisanship immediately, and not two convenient months later; which means that Dr. Adenauer will not be free to retain the chancellorship until September. And thus, Dr. Erhard will have to take over in July — under those most distressing, humiliating, and confusing

circumstances created by the West's Foreign Ministers in concern with Dr. Lothar Bolz.

Now the German resilience remains one of the marvels of the world and "the German economic miracle" of yesterday may of course be restaged as a moral miracle of tomorrow — a stubborn West German determination in the face of the despicable "compromise" with Communism that is so visibly being promoted by the West. But I doubt it. There is all over West Germany an apprehensive hush, a dispirited caution, a sudden wait-and-see anxiety that forebodes an inexorable if not dramatic decline. This nation, historically so prone to think itself "betrayed," has this time plenty of reasons to find itself forsaken. As usual, it might escape *nach vorne* — running right into the fire.

The historic upshot of the Geneva conference, it seems to me, will be a completely changed European climate in which the West, having asked for the trouble, will now have to worry about the spectre of a Soviet-German *rapprochement*. The age of Adenauer is coming to an end. The age of German "neutralization" is beginning.

While The Soviets March On . . .

Khrushchev himself is so confident of his triumphal progress in Central Europe that he discarded the Geneva conference even while it was going on, and turned to a second phase of his strategic campaign. The obvious impact of his state visit to tiny Albania was to ignite the next bush fire in Europe — this one aimed at the NATO nations in the Mediterranean, Italy and Greece.

The Western press is congenitally inclined to deny the reality of a political

crisis in a nation that, for the moment, seems to have "a stable government." And because our press goes exclusively by formal tokens, such as resounding governmental announcements, very few Americans realize that Italy is moving into a storm center. For, while the Segni Government quite courageously continues its unimaginative policy of staying alive, and little more, the country continues to be torn by the perilous and ancient schism of Italian society — the futile and yet deadly division between "anti-clericalism" and political allegiance to Church discipline. Very few elements of conflict (not even the appalling poverty in Southern Italy) contribute so much to the hopes of the Italian Left as this ancient dilemma.

Having tried for the first few months of his reign to promote "good will" on all sides, including the extreme Left, Pope John XXIII had finally to face the elementary fact of Italian political life (namely, that there just is no competing force to check Communism other than the Church) and to take his chances with issuing a new injunction against Catholic support to the Left. This injunction may have come too late; and then again, it may save the day. But in any case it will deepen the rift between Right and Left in Italy — and it seems to supply Nenni with just the tonic he needed to mount his next assault against the conservative government.

The Sicilian elections in early June will prove mathematically how well a Church injunction transforms into Italian politics. But whatever its outcome will be, the Segni Government has already lost the reluctant support it received, during its honeymoon, from the Left Wing of the Christian Democ-

racy. Without that support Segni cannot continue even a precarious existence for another day. And even if that support is extended for yet a while, but with an unmistakably growing determination of the Left Wing to catch Segni unawares, his regime must wither. For the next few weeks it may be simply too hot in Rome to bother one way or the other. But with the first cool breezes of early fall the Left-Wing Christian Democrats will get ready, more likely than not, to try again.

To The Game-of-Italy . . .

As usual in Italy, the center of the leftist intrigue is Signor Enrico Mattei, the infinitely powerful boss of the state-owned oil and fuel syndicate. Segni's Government (and this may be one of its rare historic achievements) was the first Italian Government to put the finger on Mattei, to name names and quote figures: It has disclosed, a few weeks ago, to what extent Mattei, formally a Christian Democrat, finances and directs the "neutralist" Italian press. Though no Sicilian, Mattei is now hell-bent on "vendetta"; and it is more than unlikely that any Italian Government can survive Mattei's wrath. In cahoots with President Gronchi, with the Fanfani wing of the Christian Democracy that has merely gone underground, and deeply allied with Nenni, Signor Mattei is one decisive trifle too powerful.

He also is (as I reported here a year ago) a personal friend of Anastas Mikoyan. Khrushchev, at any rate, was competently advised when he decided to concentrate his fire on Italy; he seems to be figuring that the moment is auspicious, internationally as well as domestically. In terms of international prospects and risks, Italy has just re-

European Survey

ceived, in Geneva, a post-graduate lesson in what constitutes the rewards of "rigidity": the profound humiliation of deserted West Germany is most certainly no inducement for Italy to raise its Western bet. And domestically, to the realistic observer, all signs seem to be pointing to a break between Segni and the Left Wing of the Christian Democracy.

This, at any rate, determined Khrushchev's timing. His Albanian blasts against Italy's (and Greece's) NATO loyalty may have opened the second phase of the great strategic Soviet drive into Western Europe—the "neutralization" of the Mediterranean.

And The British Government Wears Out Its Knees . . .

As there is, to my knowledge, not a drop of Irish blood in my circulatory system, I am as free of an anti-British bias as any intelligent and lively person can be. And yet, I notice some hot flushes going through my typewriter each time I get ready to report on British policies. The reason, I guess, is the corrupting misnomer of the current official British attitude: An allegedly "conservative" government sponsors and promotes policies which would create a troubled conscience in a cabinet of Labor extremists. And while I oppose socialism on serious intellectual grounds, I simply despise people who violate the elementary decencies of human conduct and disguise their real convictions. Which tells you, quite

frankly, how I feel about the Macmillan team.

That the British Government was coaching Mr. Herter into the Geneva surrender is by now public knowledge. Less known, in America, is the accompanying promotion job the "conservative" British Government is pressing at home to create "a friendly climate" of British trade with the Soviet Union—and, you can believe me, they are determined to trade very strategic goods. Now if a Labor Government were to sponsor illusions about the blessing of British-Soviet trade, and at a time of economic depression on the British isles to boot, it would be bad enough. But it would be understandable. Yet here is a "conservative" Government in power, and it lives under conditions of an economic prosperity that Britain has not known in several decades. And this is the Government that out-Barnums Barnum in fooling the British public about the wholesome prospects of the new trade agreement that will result in nothing but an important increase of the Soviet Union's military potentials.

There is, it seems, no limit to the resolution of the British "conservatives" to emasculate and to deliver the West. One begins to feel profoundly nostalgic for the days of Macdonald, Stanley Baldwin, Neville Chamberlain and the disarmingly naive Major Attlee. Macmillan's cast of characters is truly frightening. They ooze charm and cynicism. It's a loathsome and deadly concoction.

The Kiss Of Mitchell

So far we have been for Lewis Strauss, in the row about his confirmation, just on general principles. But now we have read that James Mitchell is for him, we are much more doubtful and less enthusiastic. Editor

THE HUNDRED-YEAR HOAX

by

WILLIS A. CARTO

CYBERNETIC WARFARE is one of the methods developed by the Communists for breaking down the foundations of society so that they may capture the State. It may be defined as the science of control of human beings through the manipulation of words and symbols. It is a development of the famous Russian experiments, in which Ivan Pavlov controlled the behavior of dogs by a deceptive use of sights, sounds, and smells.

A recent report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, *Language As A Communist Weapon*, is the finest exposition in print of this technique. In this report Dr. Stephan T. Possony explains in some detail exactly how the Reds use words as a weapon of first importance in their mission of destruction. And Herbert Philbrick has also explained this diabolical and little-known science in his speech, *How The Communists Control Thought And Attitudes*, which has been widely circulated as a reprint.

Karl Marx himself stumbled upon the first seedling of Cybernetic Warfare, and the original hoax that he planted has flowered and flourished to this day. It has grown to become perhaps the biggest asset of the Communists. It is a hoax on such a grand scale that even now—more than a century since its inception—it is recognized by only a handful of anti-Communists. For Karl Marx invented the word, "capitalism!" It is first found in his primary

study, *Das Kapital*, and was given to a confusable world sometime between the years 1842 and 1852.

The result has been something like that of letting a fox make up the rules for behavior in a chicken-house. This verbal poison has created the phoney but fatal dichotomy, "communism vs. capitalism." It has inverted the base of scholarly economics. It has put anti-Communists, conservatives, and patriotic nationalists on the defensive, and the Reds and their sympathizers and internationalist front men on the offensive, for a hundred years. It is a hoax of such aplomb, sophistication, malignancy and dimensions that it makes Adolph Hitler, who explained the theory of the Big Lie, appear naive.

II

IF ALL THIS SOUNDS QUEER, it may be even more startling to realize that Adam Smith—supposedly the classical apologist for capitalism—never even used the word. His book, *The Wealth of Nations*, was written in defense of *laissez-faire*, and against mercantilism. The term, "capitalism," did not even come into the language until at least fifty-two years after Adam Smith died in 1790.

What is the significance of all this? Mainly that Karl Marx knew more about teaching hatred than he did about anything else. He realized that people do not hate as well, and cannot as easily be stirred to hatred, until they

The Hundred-Year Hoax

have a name against which to give that hatred direction. By supplying a name, "capitalism," to what was in reality merely the accepted, normal practices of commerce and economic expansion which were then undergoing changes from the feudal period, Marx took his first great stride towards his admitted goal of a wrecked civilization. He set up a straw man, not only so that he could knock it down, but so that all of his rabble-roused following could vent their bitterness on it.

During Marx's day the European world in general and England in particular were in the midst of growing pains brought on by a fabulous economic upsurge. Politically, the process boiled down to the up-and-coming industrialists taking State power and privilege away from the old landed aristocracy, who were not at all happy about it. The aristocrats fought back, and one of their main propaganda weapons was the spate of tearful stories about the wretched life of the factory workers, many of whom had left farms to take jobs in the swelling cities. In *Capitalism And The Historians*, F. A. Hayek describes this struggle, and also shows how many of the alleged evils of the period have been exaggerated out of all proportion to their actuality. But the damage had been done. Marx and his followers, seizing upon this propaganda weapon as their own, went to work. Over the years they have created a strong and almost universal impression that life in olde England was considerably less than merrie.

Regardless of how little Marx's charges against the infant Industrial Age then beginning may have been justified, most people have thought that they were. And this is all that has

mattered. For Marx took the witches' brew of transition, anger and confusion and gave it a name, "capitalism." *Let us repeat that, by so doing, he did not define any generic "system" at all, but instead gave the contemporary economic development of European civilization a bogey-name of his own choosing. Moreover, he endowed this name with an aura of evil and guilt which it has not lost to this day.*

Albert Jay Nock, hit home on this point—as he did on so many others—by saying, in *Our Enemy, The State*: "Collectivism has even succeeded in foisting its glossary of arbitrary definitions upon us; we all speak of our economic system, for instance, as 'capitalist,' when there has never been a system, nor can one be imagined, that is not capitalist."

III

AS IF THIS WERE NOT BAD ENOUGH, the "alternative" of "communism" which Marx offered to his dirty word, "capitalism," was really nothing more than a moth-eaten theory which had been discredited before the Pyramids were built. The only solid truth about communism is that it won't work; and that it cannot be made even to seem to work (except occasionally in the most primitive and isolated of societies), unless it is imposed and maintained by extreme violence, bloodshed, and terror. This has been proved time and time again. Dr. Bela Hubbard has made an excellent study of some of the known abortive attempts to set up communism, in his book, *Political And Economic Structures*.

Corroboration of the thesis that communism is impossible in practice came recently from an expert, if surprising,

source. According to Victor Riesel, Nikita Khrushchev uttered this gem in his marathon seven-hour speech to the Twenty-first Communist Party Congress: "The socialist principle of distribution according to work is based upon the impossibility of equalizing distribution in the period of socialism."

This, of course, is a far cry from "distribution according to need," the very core of socialism as revealed by Prophet Marx. And note the word, "impossibility!" It seems that Nikita is trying not only to de-Stalinize Russia but to de-Marxify it as well.

Actually, of course, the Reds recognized decades ago the "impossibility" of communism coexisting with human nature. They have abandoned almost all but the pretense and facade of communism. In practice, what is now hanging onto the name of communism is simply the most brutal, degrading tyranny and murder-machine the world has ever seen. And it is urgently necessary for humanity to realize that this course of events in Russia is *not* a "perversion" of communism, but is instead the normal and inevitable result of trying to make the unnatural theory work—of trying to force it to be operational.

Perhaps the most important single result of the general acceptance of Marx's sham antithesis, "communism vs. capitalism," is that it has led anti-Communists to take sides in the argument as if it were real. Merely by doing so they have accepted as truth the fundamental falsehood of Communism; namely, that it is anything more than a screwball theory and that it can ever be made to function as an eco-

nomic system. Just arguing with the Reds on their own phoney issue of "communism vs. capitalism" has given them an intellectual prestige which is totally undeserved.

Still another of the many negative effects of the manufactured dichotomy has been to teach people to think in terms of *systems* rather than *people*. This has helped to create the widely accepted but essentially communist fiction that the only difference between our Western Culture and certain others is a *system* with a name, and not our own peculiar, ancient, mores and institutions. This intellectual curse has helped the Communists and their "liberal" allies and dupes to dehumanize history, knocking cultural individuality out of it; to reduce the story of civilization to an equalitarian, mechanistic, and essentially atheistic environmentalism and economic determinism. The much-touted historian, Arnold Toynbee, is one example of a contemporary pedant who thinks and writes in terms of systems, classifications, and soulless environment rather than of men.

But the very premise from which the whole philosophy has proceeded was a fraud. For by "capitalism" Marx meant nothing more specific than the economic world of man; and by "communism," as an alleged cure for an alleged disease, he meant nothing but an unworkable, inhuman theory, doomed always to inevitable failure. But thus did he set up a dichotomy which, although it had no substance of meaning, contained emotional and psychological sources of infinite strife and bloodshed.

An Editorial

Dr. Frederick Schwarz has said, with regard to the Communist threat to the United States, that our complacency in the face of a known deadly peril amounts almost to insanity. William Schlamme has written that the epitaph for our society should be: "This civilization died because it didn't want to be bothered." And Clemente Rojas has prophesied that the non-Communists of the western hemisphere are destined "to weep like women for what they didn't know how to defend."

The clearest proof of the correctness of all three of these assertions is our attitude towards the Communists in our midst. Congressman Francis E. Walter, in a report published on March 3, 1958, said: "There are at this moment the equivalent of some twenty combat divisions of enemy troops on American soil . . . troops that are loyal only to the Soviets." And these are not the riff-raff and screwballs who more or less openly belong to the Communist Party, and many of whom actually believe in communism. These are the crypto-Communists, the power-hungry, opportunistic, pragmatic, amoral members of the Communist conspiracy, who believe in nothing but the satisfaction of their personal desires; who serve as college presidents, as high-ranking members of our religious hierarchies, as labor leaders, as government officials, and in positions of influence everywhere in our national life.

If every one of these Communists in

the United States wore a Soviet Army uniform all of the time, you can imagine how quickly we would round them up and ship them off to Russia. Yet they are infinitely more dangerous enemies, simply because they do not wear that uniform. Not only should the United States put every known Communist in this country in jail tomorrow, and bring him promptly to trial for treason. It should declare a sufficient moratorium on other congressional activities for both houses to devote their major efforts to the discovery and exposure of the hidden Communists who constitute this secret army of occupation. It should see that the enemies thus exposed are put on trial, just as fast as their traitorous activities can be revealed, and with full use of all the information an enlarged F.B.I. could supply.

Before you let some half-baked "liberal" tell you that this is "hysteria," stop and think of the ecstatic shout of relief that would go up from hundreds of millions of enslaved human beings all over the world, who would see some possibility of hope in their own lives again. For the United States *not to do this*, not to defend its very existence against vicious destruction by internal treason, is the greatest idiocy committed by any nation in all human history. And it is a betrayal of a whole humane civilization which has cost countless lives, infinite labor, and measureless sacrifices over centuries in the building.

LOSS OF TREASURY GOLD SINCE EARLY 1958

by

WALTER E. SPAHR

Mr. Spahr, Professor Emeritus of Economics of New York University, is Executive Vice President of the Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy. He has been, for many years, one of the most highly regarded authorities in America on money and on the fiscal policies of our government.

Withdrawals since February 19, 1958 . . .

Foreign withdrawals of Treasury gold, which have been attracting considerable attention, began during the week following February 19, 1958. On that date Treasury gold stood at \$22,785,000,000. For the week ending December 31, 1958, the Treasury's gold was down to \$20,526,000,000, a decline of \$2,259,000,000 in forty-five weeks. For the week ending May 13, 1959, the Treasury's stock was \$20,251,000,000, down \$2,534,000,000 during the sixty-four weeks since February 19, 1958.

No net exportation of gold; an increase in earmarking . . .

There has not been any net exportation of gold during this period; each month February, 1958 — March, 1959 (latest data available) has shown a net importation of gold — \$234,600,000 for that period.

Gold earmarked for foreign and international accounts increased \$2,594,300,000, February, 1958, to March, 1959, inclusive, standing at \$8,664,300,000 on March 31, 1959—an all-time high level. Gold held under earmark for foreign account (at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York) is not included in the

gold stock of the United States. Earmarked gold can arise either from withdrawals of Treasury stock by foreign central banks and governments or by certain international financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund; or from gold exportations to the United States with instructions that it go into the earmarked fund.

Comparison with past withdrawals . . .

The withdrawal of \$2,534,000,000, during the sixty-four weeks since February 19, 1958, amounts to approximately 11 percent of the \$22,785,000,000 of total gold stock for the week ending on that date. That is a relatively heavy percentage of withdrawal as compared with above-average withdrawals in preceding years or periods. The withdrawal for the year 1958 (\$2,259,000,000) was approximately 9.9 percent of Treasury stock for the week ending February 19, 1958, and approximately the same percentage if computed against total gold stock at the end of the year plus gold withdrawn. (Total gold stock is slightly larger than Treasury stock.) The preceding relatively heavy percentages of withdrawals (exports and earmarking), based upon total gold stock

Loss of Treasury Gold Since Early 1958

remaining at the end of the year plus gold withdrawn, were 7.0 in 1950; 6.7 in 1928; 6.0 in 1944; 5.5 in 1933. The average of the yearly withdrawals for the thirty-six years, 1922-1957, was 1.3 percent. During twenty-three of these thirty-six years, there were additions to the nation's (or Treasury) gold stock.

Ratios of Treasury gold stock to nongold money and deposits . . .

The ratio of our Treasury gold stock to all our nongold money and bank deposits stood at 7.85 percent on March 25, 1959. This compares with 10.4 in January, 1953; 9.6 average for 1933, the first year we were off the gold standard; 8.6 average for the period 1915-1932, a gold standard period following the creation of the Federal Reserve System, during which the range for the yearly averages was from 6.7 to 10.9 percent. The highest ratio was 24.6 in 1941.

Foreign short-term dollar claims on our gold . . .

As of February 28, 1959, total foreign short-term dollar claims stood at \$16,606,000,000, the peak in our history. Of these only official claims (\$8,746,000,000) and those of international institutions (\$1,541,000,000) are directly convertible into dollars — a total of \$10,287,000,000 as of February 28, 1959. Foreign gold withdrawals in 1958 amounted to 14.6 percent of the average monthly total foreign short-term dollar claims of that year (\$15,520,330,000) or 12.3 percent of those claims at the end of the year plus gold withdrawals for the year.

Those foreign short-term dollar liabilities are potential claims on our Treasury gold stock of which only a relatively small percentage is in general

ever exercised. For the thirty-six years, 1922-1957, the average percentage of gold withdrawn amounted to 3.5 percent of foreign short-term dollar claims at the end of each year plus the gold withdrawals for the respective years. The range in yearly ratios of gold withdrawals to foreign short-term claims, so computed, for the years 1922-1957, was from zero, which occurred in twenty-three of the thirty-six years, to 37.1 percent in 1933. This 37.1 percent requires interpretation. In that year, foreign short-term dollar balances were at the lowest level for any of the years 1922-1958—\$392,000,000 (end of year). That 37.1 percent withdrawal involved only 5.5 percent of our total gold stock for the same year. The withdrawal of gold in 1958 amounted to 12.3 percent of total foreign short-term dollar claims at the end of that year plus gold withdrawals for the year and involved 9.9 percent of our Treasury gold stock at the end of the year plus gold withdrawals for the year.

Thus we have 12.3 percent of claims exercised and 9.9 percent of gold stock withdrawn in 1958 as compared with an average of 3.5 percent of claims exercised and 1.3 percent of gold withdrawn during the period 1922-1957.

The comparison involved is therefore unusually unfavorable to the year 1958 as compared with the period 1922-1957. There are valid grounds for concern regarding, and for careful scrutiny of, these developments of 1958-1959.

Surplus gold stock still available for withdrawal . . .

For the week ending May 13, the Federal Reserve banks had a surplus above their legal reserve requirements of \$8,560,000,000 in gold certificate re-

Loss of Treasury Gold Since Early 1958

serves. The U. S. Treasury, on May 12, had a free gold balance of \$394,402,711, thus giving a surplus of gold available for foreign withdrawals equal to \$8,954,402,711.

Since the Federal Reserve banks can, by paying tax penalties, go below their minimum reserve requirements of twenty-five percent if necessary, an even greater amount of gold could be paid out.

Of the total foreign official short-term claims of \$10,287,000,000, as of February 28, 1959, which could be exercised, the principle of probability indicates that the prospects of a large percentage of such claims being exercised over a considerable period of time are relatively small unless our government persists in pursuing an inexcusable course of piling up additional foreign claims against our declining stock of gold. If we were to lose the highest percentage ever recorded, 1922-1958, the 37.1 percent of total claims in 1933, and apply it to the exercisable claims of \$10,287,000,000 in February, 1959, the additional amount to be demanded would be \$3,816,477,000 to cover which we have a surplus of \$8,954,402,711, and even more if the reserve requirements of the Federal Reserve banks are breached.

These facts do not mean that we could lose approximately \$4 billion or \$8 billion more of gold without experiencing serious consequences. Psychological reactions are important factors; and public reactions to a persistent and relatively heavy loss of gold are highly unpredictable. At some point in such withdrawals confidence in the future value of the dollar could be seriously impaired and the dollar could suffer a heavy discount in foreign exchange be-

cause of the expectation that the Federal Reserve banks and Treasury would in due course reach the end of their capacity to pay out gold at the standard rate. Placing an embargo on further exportation of gold could be expected to precipitate a sharp discount in the value of our dollars in foreign exchange; and this depreciation could be expected to bring domestic depreciation at closely-related rates. Maintenance of the value of our dollar in foreign exchange requires unhesitating redemption at par even if this involves impairment of the minimum Federal Reserve bank gold certificate ratio. There is, therefore, genuine danger in pursuing with recklessness the course now being followed by our government. Piling up further foreign claims against our gold stock is inexcusable, particularly since there is no valid defense for permitting redemption of foreign claims in gold while our people are denied the right of redemption.

Various attempts have been made to demonstrate that our gold supply is already inadequate or presently in danger. Such attempts are not in accord with facts. Much of this effort comes from those who are attempting to obtain another devaluation of our dollar, and a common device employed by those people is to offset all foreign short-term dollar claims against our gold stock and to treat potential claims as though they would prove to be actual claims. Such a procedure cannot be defended. If that procedure were applied to insurance companies or banks, for example, it could be demonstrated that all of them are in fact, bankrupt. The principle of probability based upon the lessons of experience is the only principle that is permissible if one's pur-

Loss of Treasury Gold Since Early 1958

pose is not to mislead. Every object of value is supplied in the light of the principle of probability; and we are faced with the principle of probability in respect to the future exercise of potential claims against our Treasury's stock of gold.

Attempts to explain the Treasury's loss of gold . . .

The attempts frequently made to state the reasons for the Treasury's loss of gold rest largely upon conjecture or guessing rather than upon adequate evidence. Foreign central banks and governments and international institutions which have dollars and choose to convert some of them into gold may do so; and they are not required to explain their actions and, apparently, ordinarily do not do so.

The common allegation that the gold withdrawals of 1958-1959 are evidence of a flight from the dollar needs to be offset against the fact that while some dollars have been converted into gold the foreign short-term dollar claims have been climbing to a record height.

A frequent explanation, that a major cause of the conversion of non-gold dollars into gold is to be found in the relatively sharp drop in exports as against imports, fares no better in the light of mounting foreign short-term balances while Treasury gold is being drawn down.

The point is that the official foreign holders of dollars may choose to convert a portion of their dollars into earmarked gold for any number of reasons that seem satisfactory to them, without explanation to us and without any official data as to reasons being available to us. We may notice at some subsequent date that a central bank's reserves in

gold have increased or we may trace some other manifestation of the use of the earmarked gold; but in general we do not have access to data that would explain why the Treasury's gold stock declined and the volume of gold earmarked for foreign account increased in approximately the same amount. Gold is the most marketable monetary commodity in international exchange; and it may be utilized for an endless number of reasons. When we cash a check at our bank we are not required to explain what we propose to do with the money received. Foreign official drafts against our gold stock fall in the same general category.

Piling up of more foreign dollar claims against our gold stock and dissipating the stock itself . . .

Our Federal government, in various ways, continues to pile up more foreign dollar claims against our declining gold stock and is making further commitments and proposals to dissipate still more of the Treasury's gold stock—for example, to subscribe another \$344,000,000 of gold to the International Monetary Fund and to provide it with \$1.375 billion, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development with \$3.175 billion, additional potential dollar claims against our Treasury's gold. Foreign aid and other programs are also providing still more dollar claims against our gold stock. To these are added such proposals as that to create an International Development Association to finance projects which, apparently, good banking procedures could not support.

The picture is one of the prodigal and reckless spender and dissipator

Loss of Treasury Gold Since Early 1958

who, even though his ultimate reserve is falling rapidly, and the potential claims against that reserve are relatively heavy and rising, nevertheless continues his foolish practices with unrestrained abandon.

Pursuit of this course by our government would appear to be inviting extremely serious trouble for this nation. It seems to reflect a remarkable degree of irresponsibility on the part of those government officials responsible for such

policies and programs, and a failure on their part to understand that it is sound fiscal and monetary practices which induce gold to flow to, and remain with, a nation. The revival of an improved quality of fiscal and monetary management in West Germany, and more recently in France, provides illustrations of this elemental principle; and our government should heed the very important lessons which should be obvious to competent and responsible people.

The Game Of Darts

Always be mistaken at the top of your voice.

James E. Christofer

About Time Magazine: "Misinformation trimmed with insult."

Dr. Jacques Barzun

He managed to condense a great many words into a few thoughts.

Lewis F. Presnall

*The man recovered of the bite,
The dog it was that died.*

Oliver Goldsmith

Oh yes, we met last year at the Vanderbucks—I can't remember your name but I never forget a dress.

King Features

On family stone in cemetery in Elgin, Minnesota: "None of us ever voted for Roosevelt or Truman."

Sixty-six Ninety-nine

You can't buy happiness—at least not with today's money.

Frank G. McNnis

The man who delighted in chasing girls now has a son who can't find any who will run.

J. C. Salak

Toastmaster: And now the speaker we are all eagerly awaiting—the last one.

McFeatters

Sweet young thing: "If people ask what I see in you, Herbert, what shall I tell them?"

Walt Goldstein

BULLETS

To be ignorant of one's ignorance is
the malady of the ignorant.

Bronson Alcott

I don't like money actually, but it
quiets my nerves.

Joe Louis

When I was young my father said
That one should try to get ahead.
Today I tell my young son, Steven,
That he'll do well if he stays even.

New Orleans Item

As employment increases, unemploy-
ment is expected to decrease.

U. S. Department Of Labor

Resistance to tyrants is obedience to
God.

Thomas Jefferson

Have wife, must travel.

A Sullivan Bros. Version

Never underestimate the power of
stupid people in large groups.

Jack Jarvis

In foreign lands they do not love us.
Instead of hugging us they shove us.
But one with even slight acumen
Can see that that is only human.
For being host and guest soon ends
The friendship of the best of friends.

Richard Armour

These days our kids know the value
of a dollar, and it makes them mighty
discouraged.

Uncle Mat

Wife to interior decorator: "Of course
my husband wants genuine antiques,
but they've got to be up-to-date and
modern."

Nuggets

He who allows oppression shares the
crime.

Erasmus Darwin

The trouble with fiction is that it
makes too much sense. Reality never
makes sense.

Aldous Huxley

Bus conversation, overheard: "They're
starting out with just what they have to
have—bed, stove, and television set."

Ohio State Journal

Sign on convention rostrum:
Caution—Engage brain before start-
ing mouth.

Sixty-six Ninety-nine

Success is counted sweetest by those
who ne'er succeed.

Emily Dickinson

Young men think old men fools, and
old men know young men to be so.

Metcalf

To deny the freedom of the will is
to make morality impossible.

Froude

Howe'er it be, it seems to me,
'Tis only noble to be good.
Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood.

Tennyson

Watchman, what of the night?

Isaiah, XXI, 11

THE SCOREBOARD

Basic Communist strategy for conquest of the world, as laid out thirty-five years ago and relentlessly followed ever since, consisted of three steps: (1) Take eastern Europe; (2) next take the masses of Asia; (3) then take the rest of the world, including the United States. The Communists completed their first step in 1950; the second step is now at least three-fourths accomplished; and they have gone more than one-fourth of the way towards carrying out their third step. Which means that the Communists have now covered well over two-thirds of the total distance to their final goal of world-wide dominion. And the momentum and the speed of their progress are steadily increasing.

BETWEEN 1937 AND 1957 the expansion of Communist power in the world was approximately eight hundred percent — whether you measured that growth in the number of Party members, in the number of enslaved subjects, or by whatever unit of comparison. But during the past two years the rate of expansion has markedly increased.

For a decade after World War II the Communists averaged adding to their empire seven thousand newly enslaved subjects every hour, twenty-four hours of every day, 365 days of every year. But by 1958 that rate of conquest had come up to about twelve thousand new slaves per hour. And the once free peoples of Indonesia, Iraq, Morocco, Tunisia, Bolivia, Venezuela, Cuba, Ghana, Guinea, and other nations now slipping into Communist police-state rule, would gladly bear witness to both the truth and the horror of this record. How free the status of their former "colonialism" would seem to many of them today!

But the most ominous part of the Communist advance is also the most

difficult to appraise. That is the rise of Communist influence in countries which are still considered to be clearly in, and on the side of, the remaining "free world." That there are ways of estimating how far the insidious tide has risen, however, even in these areas where much firm dry land still remains, has been decisively demonstrated by our experience in putting together the scores in this tabulation.

For several different scholars on four different continents, each of them a serious long-time student of the methods, purposes and progress of the Communist conspiracy, compiled his scoreboard independently of all the others. Each one made his own estimates as objectively and conscientiously as he knew how. And the resulting figures from these different experts, for all but one or two of the 105 countries listed, were so close as to be startling — and convincing. Believing therefore that our composite appraisals are dependable, significant, revealing — and frightening — we present *The American Opinion Scoreboard for 1959*.

The American Opinion Scoreboard

In the following tabulation we have undertaken to estimate the present degree of Communist influence or control over the economic and political affairs of almost all of the "nations" of the world. (The omissions have been due to lack of size, importance, or autonomy.) The chief source of such control or influence may be Communist-run labor unions (as in Bolivia), or Communist sympathizers in government (as in India), or powerful Communist political parties (as in Italy), or highly successful Communist agitation and propaganda (as in Mexico). The total extent of Communist control or influence over any country, however, is due to the impact of all Communist pressures, direct and indirect, visible and undercover, working together. In most cases, of course, that total cannot be measured with exactness. But

we believe the estimates given below to be conservative, as of June 1, 1959.

It is only when this scoreboard is compared with any similar one, which might have been compiled as recently as 1952, that its significance becomes so shockingly apparent. Each change since the 1958 Scoreboard — if sufficient to change the whole bracket shown against any country — is indicated by a star, and itemized on the last page of this insert.

The Kremlin's biggest concern now is to keep the remainder of the free world, and especially the people of the United States, from realizing the speed and certainty with which the Communists are completing their conquest of the planet. We intend to publish a revised scoreboard once a year until the conspiracy is entirely successful or has been entirely destroyed.

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE

As A Percentage Of Total Control

1. Aden	20 to 40%	19. Chile	40 to 60%
2. Afghanistan	80 - 100	20. Communist China	100
3. Albania	100	21. Nationalist China	0 - 20
4. Argentina	40 - 60	22. Colombia	20 - 40
5. Australia	0 - 20	23. Costa Rica	20 - 40
6. Austria	20 - 40	24. Cuba	70 - 90★
7. Belgian Congo	20 - 40★	25. Czechoslovakia	100
8. Belgium	20 - 40	26. Denmark	20 - 40
9. Bolivia	70 - 90★	27. Dominican Republic	0 - 20
10. Brazil	40 - 60	28. East Germany	100
11. Britain	40 - 60★	29. Ecuador	20 - 40★
12. British Guiana	80 - 100	30. Egypt	80 - 100
13. Bulgaria	100	31. El Salvador	20 - 40
14. Burma	60 - 80	32. Ethiopia	60 - 80
15. Cambodia	80 - 100	33. Finland	60 - 80
16. Canada	40 - 60★	34. France	30 - 50★
17. Central African Federation	20 - 40★	35. French Equatorial Africa	20 - 40
18. Ceylon	60 - 80	36. French Togoland	40 - 60

The Scoreboard

37. Ghana	80 to 100%	72. Outer Mongolia	100%
38. Greece	40 - 60	73. Pakistan	30 - 50★
39. Guatemala	60 - 80	74. Panama	60 - 80
40. Guinea	80 - 100★	75. Paraguay	20 - 40★
41. Haiti	20 - 40	76. Peru	20 - 40
42. Honduras	40 - 60	77. Philippines	20 - 40
43. Hungary	100	78. Poland	100
44. Iceland	80 - 100	79. Portugal	0 - 20
45. India	60 - 80	80. Romania	100
46. Indonesia	80 - 100	81. Saudi Arabia	60 - 80
47. Iran	20 - 40	82. Sierra Leone	30 - 50★
48. Iraq	80 - 100★	83. Singapore	70 - 90★
49. Ireland	0 - 20	84. Somalia	40 - 60
50. Israel	40 - 60	85. South Korea	10 - 30★
51. Italy	40 - 60	86. South Vietnam	40 - 60
52. Japan	20 - 40	87. Soviet Union	100
53. Jordan	20 - 40	88. Spain	0 - 20
54. Kenya	20 - 40	89. Sudan	50 - 70★
55. Laos	80 - 100	90. Sweden	20 - 40
56. Lebanon	60 - 80★	91. Switzerland	20 - 40
57. Liberia	30 - 50★	92. Syria	80 - 100
58. Libya	60 - 80	93. Tanganyika	20 - 40
59. Luxembourg	20 - 40	94. Thailand	40 - 60
60. Madagascar	20 - 40	95. Tibet	80 - 100
61. Malaya	40 - 60	96. Tunisia	80 - 100
62. Mexico	40 - 60	97. Turkey	0 - 20
63. Morocco	60 - 80	98. Uganda	20 - 40
64. Nepal	60 - 80	99. Union of South Africa	0 - 20
65. Netherlands	20 - 40★	100. United States	30 - 50★
66. New Zealand	0 - 20	101. Uruguay	40 - 60
67. Nicaragua	20 - 40	102. Venezuela	80 - 100★
68. Nigeria	30 - 50★	103. West Germany	0 - 20
69. North Korea	100	104. Yemen	80 - 100
70. North Vietnam	100	105. Yugoslavia	100
71. Norway	50 - 70★		

Footnotes On Changes

Obviously there have been changes in the degree of Communist influence in practically every country. But the changes shown, and discussed below, are only those which moved our estimate into a whole new bracket from the one given last year.

9. Bolivia. 1958: 40-60%. 1959: 70-90%. The Communists have steadily tightened their grip. They now own Bolivia, to whatever extent they wish to show their hand.

7. Belgian Congo. 1958: 0-20%. 1959: 20-40%. This change reflects the long reach of the

agitation against "colonialism," sparked by Kwame Nkrumah.

11. Britain. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 40-60%. Thanks to the "let's surrender" crusade of Ber-

Footnotes On Changes

strand Russell, the pusillanimous appeasement policies of Harold Macmillan, and other factors, the Communist influence in and over Britain has markedly increased during the past twelve months.

16. Canada. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 40-60%. The erosion of resistance to Communist men and measures is subtle, gradual—and deadly.

17. Central African Federation. 1958: 0-20%. 1959: 20-40%. This is simply due to the Communist forces now increasingly at work all over Africa.

24. Cuba. 1958: 40-60%. 1959: 70-90%. Last year the potential Communist take-over of Cuba was merely casting its shadow before it. This year it is an accomplished fact.

29. Ecuador. 1958: 0-20%. 1959: 20-40%. It is no secret that the situation in most of Latin America has rapidly grown worse since June 1, 1958.

34. France. 1958: 40-60%. 1959: 30-50%. This is the one improvement noted on the whole planet. In our opinion much credit must go to de Gaulle and even more to Jacques Soustelle.

40. Guinea. 1958: (As part of French West Africa), 40-60%. 1959: 80-100%. Sekou Touré has now made the break with France complete; the break with civilization, and absorption of his country into the Soviet barbarism, all but complete.

48. Iraq. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 80-100%. This "swing" is drastic, but so were the developments. Our estimate last year was undoubtedly too conservative. The violent seizure of Iraq by the Communists was more sudden and complete than anything we had anticipated.

56. Lebanon. 1958: 40-60%. 1959: 60-80%. Lebanon was just one more victim of a "Murphy good-will mission" — as well as of other forces. Under the guise of protecting and helping Lebanon, our government made Rashid Karami, the leading Communist of that small country (and the man most approved by Nasser), its Prime Minister, Minister of Finance, Minister of National Economy, Minister of Defense, and Minister of Information. With just one more blow of our helping hand the Communist control of Lebanon could move into the highest bracket.

57. Liberia. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 30-50%. The change is merely another indication of the rising tide in Africa.

61. Netherlands. 1958: 0-20%. 1959: 20-40%. Whether or not our estimate in 1958 was too low, we don't know. We are sure this one is not too high.

68. Nigeria. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 30-50%. Just another case of crumbling before the African "wave."

71. Norway. 1958: 40-60%. 1959: 50-70%. The change is partly the recognition and result of a continuing process; but it is partly just to make our estimate of Norway more realistic than that of last year.

73. Pakistan. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 30-50%. Sad, unfortunate, not translatable into specifics—but true.

75. Paraguay. 1958: 0-20%. 1959: 20-40%. General Alfredo Stroessner, President of Paraguay, is one of the few firm anti-Communists still remaining as heads of Latin American governments. But of late months he has had to give considerable ground to "liberal" pressures.

82. Sierra Leone. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 30-50%. More washing from the African wave.

83. Singapore. 1958: 60-80%. 1959: 70-90%. The last elections show that Singapore is already "beyond the point of no return."

85. South Korea. 1958: 0-20%. 1959: 10-30%. The tremendous Communist efforts have gained footholds that cannot be ignored.

89. Sudan. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 50-70%. This heavy gain in the strength of the Communists is largely due to the help and encouragement given them by that sterling non-Communist (!), G. A. Nasser.

100. The United States. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 30-50%. We were worried about defending our own conviction that Communist influence, over everything of political or economic importance done in or by the United States, now amounts to more than thirty percent of total control. Then we got the surprise of our lives in the far higher estimates from some of our experts.

We have kept this bracket, with fifty percent as the top limit to our appraisal, nevertheless. We are aware that the actual number of Communists and Communist sympathizers within our borders has little bearing on the case. For the Communists have taken over some countries completely with as little as one percent of the population as active agents. We agree with our experts that the Communist influence inside our government itself today is overwhelming. We know that this influence is almost as extreme within our educational, religious, and labor organizations. But we feel that there are still tremendous layers of Americanist strength not yet rotted by all of the infiltration, indoctrination, and political sabotage to which we have been subjected.

Here is a fact, however, which good Americans should note with alarm and anxiety. These men are the best informed authorities we know. Several of them, in or from Europe, Asia or Australia, are able to look at our situation more objectively than we can. They agree closely with us, and with each other, concerning every other country. And these men believe that the degree of Communist influence in the United States today amounts to between 50% and 70% of total control.

102. Venezuela. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 80-100%. As in the case of Iraq, our 1958 figure was too low. And perhaps in the case of Venezuela we should have been more aware of the nearness and force of the coming storm.

Soustelle and Algeria

by

HILAIRE DU BERRIER

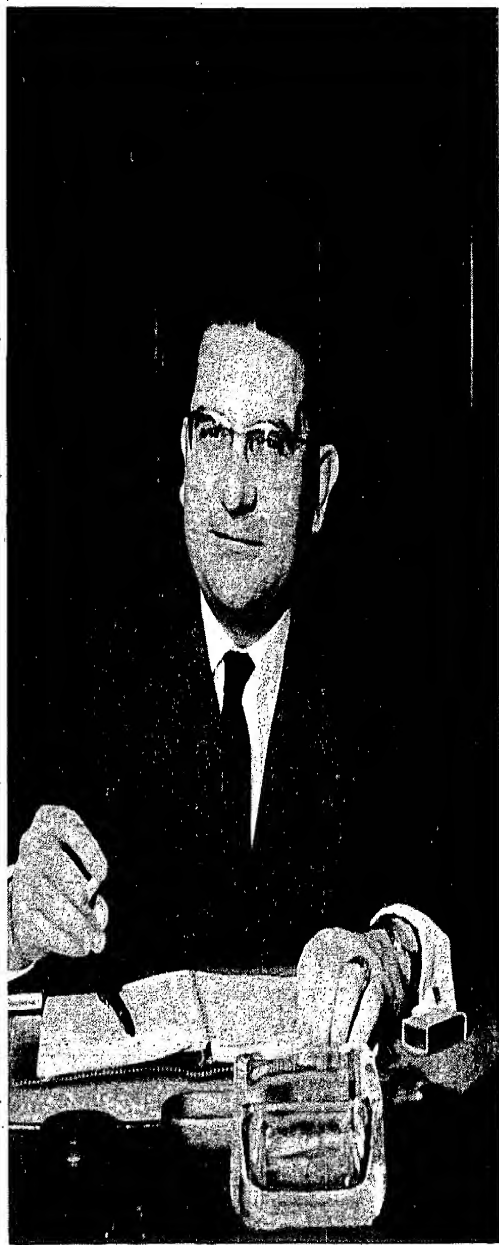
The author of the following article was born and raised in North Dakota. But he has served as a war correspondent, a pilot, and in many other capacities, in Ethiopia, Spain, China, and Indochina. He spent almost three years during World War II as a prisoner of the Japanese, eighteen days of that time in the torture chamber, because of his espionage activities as part of a French Resistance Group known as Réseau Mingant. For the past several years Mr. du Berrier has lived in Paris, as a free-lance writer for various publications in both the English-speaking and French-speaking countries. We consider him one of the best informed authorities in the world on the events and personalities of the Cold War, and especially so "wherever" colonialism is a part of the picture.

JACQUES SOUSTELLE was born in Montpellier, in southern France, on February 3, 1912. His parents were poor, and Protestants, both of which circumstances were handicaps in the circles where he was to make an early mark. But in 1929, through a combination of tireless energy and a knack for intense concentration, the seventeen-year-old boy took first place in the hardest examination in France's educational system. He thereby became the youngest student ever to enter the nation's *Ecole Normale Supérieure*. Three years later he emerged from this school at the head of his class, and as a professor of ethnology with a degree in philosophy at the age of twenty.

It was probably from his soft smile and quiet manner that Soustelle was given, by his associates, the nickname of "the cat." For there is a shyness about him, especially in the presence of people who, he senses, may not like him, which has lasted to this day. There is no relaxed, half-way point between

the warm smile among intimates and the set front at public gatherings or before the microphone. And this shyness during his youth may have helped to account for his concentration on work and his remarkable scholastic record. For he was a Doctor of Letters at twenty-four and Assistant Director of the *Museum of Man* at twenty-five.

And yet, strange to say, Soustelle is more interested in human beings, and especially their cultures, than in anything else. He early became particularly interested in the Indian civilizations of Mexico and Central America. In 1932, he went to live among the Otomis and the Lacandons — the latter being an almost extinct offshoot of the Mayas who now inhabit the border region between Mexico and Guatemala. Winning the complete confidence of these primitive people, Soustelle painstakingly gathered the material not only for the thesis for his doctorate, on *The Family Life Of The Otomi-Pama Tribes Of Central Mexico*, but also for



JACQUES SOUSTELLE

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Mexico, Land Of The Indians, The Material Culture Of The Lacandon Indians, and other books that followed.

For Jacques Soustelle has always been an intellectual, and so regards himself even now. Besides French, and excellent English, he also speaks Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Aztec, Maya, German and — sufficiently to express himself — Arabic and Russian. He has written *Chilean Folklore*, and *The Cosmological Thinking Of The Ancient Mexicans*, besides the books already mentioned; and a mountain of scientific articles for learned journals. And he himself has said, in a letter "from one intellectual to another":

"... Even in action I remain the professor, a teacher, a writer. I am convinced that we have a role to play in public life, even if it is only in trying to substitute for the vague, impassioned images, which are the usual instruments of politics, the ideas of probity and precision and balance to which we are held by our profession. It seems evident to me that if intellectuals wish to manifest themselves as such in the political domain, their action can only be justified by their comporting themselves in that circumstance, and more than ever so, as intellectuals.

"This is to say, with the painstaking striving for honesty and clarity which is in a way our mark. Also it seems to me that the intellectual in taking a position is duty-bound, more than any other, to be scrupulous, both in what concerns his knowledge of facts and the interpretation he gives them. I have always believed that it is our duty, we who claim to make a profession of thinking clearly, to enter frankly and without hesitation into the battle of ideas."

Soustelle, with his young wife, was again in Mexico in 1939 when war was declared. He went home to be mobilized and soon afterwards was sent back on a mission to Central America. It was there that de Gaulle's appeal for followers reached him. Through 1942 he ran the Free French Information Service; and in 1943 became chief of de Gaulle's Intelligence in London. When de Gaulle's government fell at the end of the war, Soustelle returned to the classroom. His re-election to the French Assembly in 1951 went unnoticed; and in comparative oblivion he might have remained had not Pierre Mendes-France — apparently badly misjudging his man — decided on January 26, 1955 to make Jacques Soustelle Governor-General of Algeria.

Soustelle's sympathies when he took on this responsibility were, as always, for the underdog. He went to Algeria hoping to satisfy the aspirations of the rebels, known as the FLN. But intellectual honesty and an insistence on knowing the facts remained keys to his character. And he soon found that the real underdogs were not the Communist-inspired FLN, nor even so much the French settlers in Algeria whom the FLN rebels were murdering at every opportunity. The people who most needed help and protection were the great mass of the Algerian Moslems themselves, whom the FLN terrorists were ruthlessly massacring and torturing, in order to keep them frightened into an appearance of supporting the "civil war." These were exactly the tactics the Communists had used in China as far back as twenty-five years before.

Soustelle found out how the vast majority of the Algerian Moslems felt — something they have proved over and

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over since then—simply by talking to them. He found out the real nature and purposes of the rebels, simply by getting the facts. By and large, the American press, left-slanted or indifferent, has not been willing to do either.

II

ON MAY 28, 1957, forty-seven Algerian cutthroats under a leader named Amirouche rode into a village called Melouza, killing and mutilating the entire male population to the number of 303. Many of the victims were small boys. This was typical of the campaign of terror in which the FLN has consistently killed far more peaceful Algerian Moslems than it has French settlers, police, or soldiers.

But the sympathies of the American press were with Amirouche and his forty-six companions, rather than with the 303 Algerians who were murdered. Jacques Soustelle, for being the champion of the 303 victims, was regarded as our enemy. The French Army, defending the helpless ninety percent in Algeria against the ten percent perpetrating the terror, saw the weight of France's principal ally, the United States, constantly thrown behind the ten percent. In July, 1957, at a Congress of World Labor Unions held in Tunisia, "spokesmen for American labor" expressed "American labor's" support of the terrorists. (As if they could!) And to top it all off Senator Kennedy, seeing an opportunity for grabbing both news space and labor support, chose that occasion also for encouraging the rebels.

To the French there was, unfortunately, nothing new about any of this. It was Indochina all over again, even to the part played by that world states-

man, Senator John Kennedy. America's intervention in Indochina had taken the form of encouraging the natives to hate the French, and the native states to refuse to fight the Communists until freed from French direction. "Give the Indochinese their independence," Senator Kennedy had thundered at that time, "and they will form a crusade against Communism." It is not true to say that the Kennedy brat knew no more about the people of Indochina than about those of Mars, for he was reasonably sure that the Indochinese actually did exist. As to the program advocated by this most left-wing of Democratic Senators, which was actually being carried out by a supposedly Republican government, the results speak for themselves. Today Laos is "neutral," Cambodia has swung towards Peking, North Vietnam is a Communist state, and the dictatorship of South Vietnam has become a quicksand for American money and prestige without embarrassing Communism in the least.

This, in essence, is what went through the minds of the French army, navy and airforce personnel in Algeria in July, 1957, against the background of comrades lost and natives massacred. Senator Kennedy had turned his attention to North Africa and "now we are going to have a repetition of Indochina." And their sentiment was increasingly shared back home, in all of France.

By January of 1958 French public opinion was solidly behind the army's belief that France was being betrayed by its own government through that government's fear of offending America. The French army, given the difficult task of restoring order in Algeria, was

prevented from making a move that could possibly achieve that purpose. (Just as Chiang Kai-shek had been prevented three different times in 1946 from wiping out the Chinese Communists, through pressures put on him by the American government through George Catlett Marshall.) French civilian and soldier alike sat fascinated and almost hypnotized by the newsreel aspect of developments, each more alarming than the last, which unfolded before their eyes. In December, 1957, an impassioned American plea for allied solidarity was accompanied, almost simultaneously, by a delivery of arms to Tunisia; arms so certain to pass directly into the hands of FLN that the American government refused to release the serial numbers. And then came Sakiet.

There were some three hundred FLN soldiers based in a deserted mine on the outskirts of the Tunisian frontier village of Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef. This was a sanctuary to which they supposedly could not be pursued, allowed them by the same Tunisian government that supplied them arms bought from America. (Remember the Yalu River bridges, and the sanctuary of the Chinese Communists in Korea!)

These rebels not only strolled openly through the town and manned anti-aircraft guns against French planes. On January 11, 1958 they launched a pre-dawn raid across the border into Algeria, fought until early afternoon, and then returned to Sakiet, bearing their prisoners with them.

The intelligence reports of Algerian-born General Jouhaud, of the French airforce, were precise. He had exact information about the gun emplacements and rebel movements in Sakiet.

A final warning was issued, after which another French plane was shot at and hit. And so, on February 8, 1958, Sakiet was bombed.

The American press immediately raised a huge cry against France. Tunisia squashed reports of the three hundred FLN soldiers who were killed in the mine, but set up a bombed-town scene in the village itself, and imposed on an American Red Cross observer for the kind of report it wanted. And New York's two leading newspapers, despite all of the fact-finding facilities at their disposal, answered the public demand for news with vague references to "an alleged FLN base in Sakiet."

It was the bombing of Sakiet, and America's reaction to that retaliation by the French airforce in protection of their own, which lighted the fuse to the important explosions and events that followed. One such event was the bursting onto the scene, in mid-April of 1958, and onto the consciousness of an American public totally unprepared for him, of M'sieu Jacques Soustelle. That such was the case was inexcusable, and a disgrace to American journalism. For had our press told the truth about the extent to which France was smoldering, neither the blow-up nor the disastrous results of our inane policies (or worse) would have come as any surprise.

III

OUR STATE DEPARTMENT's sending of Mr. Robert Murphy to France on his "good offices" mission only hastened the coming break. For, as the editor of *American Opinion* pointed out in another connection some months ago, the invariable result of Mr. Murphy's expert "trouble-shooting" expeditions over many years has been tragedy for

our anti-Communist friends. But the French, with their bitter memories of Indochina, did not need any coaching on this subject. In France the Murphy mission met with the approval of only the extreme Socialist left and the Communists themselves.

Behind the sound-proof wall of diplomatic usage French indignation was solid and unyielding. Because of the smothering cover of courtesy at the top level in Paris and the blackout of dependable news in America, a feeling persisted in Washington that with just a little pressure Paris would give — that is, would follow the policies of appeasement and withdrawal planned for France by our State Department (exactly as Paris had yielded step by step to the pressures from Washington, in the sell-out of Indochina). To provide that pressure, in mid-April President Eisenhower wrote a personal letter to Premier Gaillard. And instead of giving way, Paris exploded. Such a letter could not be kept secret. The result was the spontaneous combustion of a whole nation.

It might have been any one of a hundred deputies who took the cue, when the Eisenhower letter landed within the already overcharged atmosphere. For — again except for Mendes-France's extreme Left and the out-and-out Communists — the sentiments of France's deputies on April 15, 1958 reflected the mood of France. But it happened to be Jacques Soustelle, the mild-mannered intellectual, who in the emotion of the moment rose to his feet. "Is French policy made in Washington or in Paris?" he demanded. "If it is made in Washington, what are we doing with these baby's toys of sovereignty?"

In retrospect, the only strange event of the day is that the Gaillard government did not fall before Soustelle's attack by a larger vote than 321 to 255. But American reaction was immediate and violent. Soustelle was blasted as the unleasher of a storm which he himself had conjured, rather than regarded as the patriotic standard-bearer of a people and an army that had had enough. "Anti-American! Cabinet-wrecker!"; thus *Time Magazine* screamed at him in its issue of April 28. And *Time*, of which 1,800,000 copies were distributed free in fifty-six countries in 1958 by the *United States Information Service*, is regarded abroad as the voice of America's State Department.

As though to justify French fears and support Soustelle's allegation, a "high diplomatic source" (assumed to be Robert Murphy) soon let it be known that the United States had decided to give top priority to keeping North Africa loyal to the free world (!); and that to achieve this it might be necessary for the French government to enter into direct negotiations with the Algerian rebels!! On April 25 the *Wall Street Journal* reported that Washington was preparing to back the rebels, even to the extent of forcing France to accede. Or, as *Time* then arrogantly put it, the United States had finally "dropped a strong hint that it was not prepared to play make-believe with France much longer."

This condescending attitude on the part of the United States government; the obvious intention of our State Department to go right on running stiff-arm interference for the Communists in their phoney but vicious game of "anti-colonialism;" these considerations and

the American press attack on Soustelle all became strong political winds in his favor. And in proportion as both Frenchmen and Algerians turned to Soustelle as a leader, the more our press magnified him as an enemy of America. The violence and extent of this campaign have been significant, revealing, and frightening in their implications.

Prior to the Gaillard crisis it was quietly assumed by many well-informed Frenchmen that Jacques Soustelle was a leader of the future. It certainly took no very astute newspaper man to sense the terrific expansion of this sentiment after April 15. Since the early spring of 1958 there has descended on him a mountain of correspondence: from grass-roots Frenchmen; from mothers of young soldiers who have been taken prisoner by the FLN and brutally executed, often on Tunisian soil; from the parents of soldiers now in uniform; from former settlers from Morocco and Tunisia who had been driven from properties their families had worked on for three generations; from small exporters across France who had been forced to the wall by South Vietnam's new import list, barring all but American goods from the market that had supported these exporters; and especially from the unorganized ninety percent of the Algerians, whom our press has ignored in favor of the armed rebels. With Soustelle largely running the campaign, de Gaulle was carried into the presidency in December by 78.5% of the electoral vote! And Soustelle's party, the UNR, had put more deputies in the assembly than had ever sat there before under the banner of a single party.

Equally as clear as the strength of

Soustelle's following has been the firmness of his anti-Communism. From his part in keeping the French government from yielding to the United States and recognizing the FLN, Soustelle became the man the Communists were out to get. At the same time he has not hidden the fact that he is out "to get them"; to drive the Communists from the mayoralties and other positions of political power all over France. The Communists were so fearful of Soustelle's rising power that in May, 1958 they began moving their secret files and archives, which were in France, to Italy. They set off the usual smear campaign against him, at home and abroad. And they organized an assassination campaign which culminated in the attempt of September 15, 1958, with Algerian agents carefully put in place to do the actual shooting — from which Soustelle was extremely fortunate to escape with only a bullet-grazed forehead.

Yet our press, with the visible blessing of our government, has been vicious in its opposition to this strong anti-Communist, who so obviously may become the head of one of our strongest anti-Communist allies. It is shocking for an American to reflect that when the present French cabinet was being formed, Frenchmen high in politics felt compelled to ask Americans (this writer among others) what America's reaction would be if Soustelle were made Premier or Minister of Foreign Affairs. Their resentment at having to ask that question, at America's meddling and pressures which made it necessary, is easy to understand.

The Soustelle story, the lies about him and about the whole Algerian rebel movement, the policies of our government with regard to French af-

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fairs during the past several years, and the praise for these policies by so many of our newspapers and magazines, have only one possible explanation. Within both our government and our press there are now powerful forces at work to estrange America from the real anti-Communists among our allies, and to help the Communists themselves everywhere in the world, in all of their schemes and operations. If the great body of loyal Americans in both press and government, instead of getting their hackles up when being told this obvious fact, will get busy, recognize and throw out the traitors and their opportunistic colleagues, and really start fighting Communism, men like Soustelle can help us mightily to restore some sanity, order, and real peace to the world once again.

IV

IN MAY, 1958, the Kennedy brat had the incredible effrontery to shout that France must stop de Gaulle. This was about on a par with the scream of the strident-voiced blonde, employed by our airforce, in a Paris cafe: "Why shouldn't we tell them who they can have for president? We have bought this country!" But the blonde was not seeking to make political hay for herself with the extreme Left, as Kennedy clearly was.

As has so often happened, however, Kennedy's play to the left was exactly in line with the signals called from our pseudo-Republican administration. Our government all but served notice on France that America would not tolerate the rise of de Gaulle and Soustelle to power, and that France therefore was under orders to reject them. And our press and radio went all the way in

unbelievable smear, distortion, disparagement, and attempts to confuse. Nevertheless, de Gaulle went on to become the most powerful president France has had in its history as a republic. And Soustelle, while probably denied the premiership because of that very opposition from America which we have been discussing, became a powerful figure in the new French government, the backbone of that government's resistance to Communism, and the most likely "strong man" of any future that France may have as a rejuvenated bulwark of strength against Moscow's imperialistic advances.

Since Soustelle came to prominence and leadership against the background of the Algerian problem, it is well to turn to that setting, in which to try to appraise his judgment, his ability, his humanitarianism, and his sincerity. And there is probably no better way to do this than to let him speak for himself, after some brief introduction, about this very question of Algeria and its future.

Typical of the slurs and the character assassination by innuendo conducted against Soustelle in our press was a long article by Edward M. Korry in *Look Magazine*. At one point Mr. Korry said: "Soustelle had come to carry out a program of long delayed reforms. I first met Soustelle in Algiers at that time. Stymied and isolated, he was stalling for time, convinced he could eventually win over the settlers. But in the end, he was the one who capitulated. The turning point came on August 20, 1955, when the Algerian nationalists massacred scores of Frenchmen near Constantine and transformed the revolt into full-scale civil war.

"For the first time in his life, Soustelle saw the conflict in human terms,

in slit throats, and mutilated bodies of men, women, and children. The experience transformed him. From that day on, he championed the cause of the French settlers. Little by little Soustelle the intellectual evolved a theory to justify their views. The Algerian conflict was all part of an international plot, he said, directed by Egypt's Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser with the help of Moscow. And he coined a phrase that became the motto of the bitter-enders: "To negotiate is to surrender!"

During all of 1958 *Look Magazine* presented Fidel Castro as a hero and Jacques Soustelle as a scoundrel. Which, to the correctly informed, tells a great deal about Castro, Soustelle and *Look*. Any thought that the Algerian conflict is *not* part of an international Communist plot, for instance, is too naive for serious consideration. Today, isn't the Moscow-supported FLN government actually situated in Cairo? Yet *Look* satirizes Soustelle for "evolving" any such "theory." And the article, aside from appearing to condone the throat-slitting and body-mutilating of the terrorists, overlooks entirely the matter of some eight million Algerians who have wanted no part of the FLN and whose only protection against having their own throats slit was from those "bitter-enders."

Describing the rebels as "nationalists" is exactly what Moscow has wanted. "Nationalism," even of the Mau-Mau type, must be encouraged as "the wave of the future." And giving the FLN respectability, by describing their stepped-up terror as "full-scale civil war," is exactly what their leader, Ferhat Abbas, has wanted. As to Soustelle's seeing the conflict for the first time in human terms, he is primarily a sociologist who

had never seen it in any other light. And as for his "capitulating" to the French settlers — which was purely unsupported mindreading on Mr. Korry's part — Soustelle's mind was changed for him primarily by the Algerians themselves, as any journalist not trying to build up a case against "colonialism" could easily have found out.

For the plight of the Algerian populace was that mere non-cooperation with France, on their part, would not satisfy the FLN. The rebels have demanded active collaboration with themselves, under threat of a fate that would make death seem preferable. It has been the rebels' aim thus to create an impression of support that would dignify their terrorist raids with the name of civil war. Had the native population given that support, the revolt would have been successful. The FLN's reply to the natives' refusal has been to step up their atrocities, while going to great pains to deny them to the outside world. In this endeavor they have followed the time-worn Communist tactic: Always accuse your enemy, as loudly and brazenly as possible, of the very crimes which you are yourself committing. The offices of American congressmen and editors have been swamped with anti-French propaganda, often bearing photographs of natives which the FLN itself had mutilated. One whole book of lies about French "atrocities" in Algeria, written by an out-and-out avowed Communist, has been given wide circulation — and favorable newspaper reviews — all over America. (Including a quite "sympathetic" full-column review on the editorial page of the *Boston Herald*. Editor.) While the carefully prepared and exact documentary of the massive

Soustelle And Algeria

cruelties and typically Communist terrorism of the FLN, meticulously assembled by the French government, has been barred from the United States mails—in effect, by a request from our government to France not to circulate it here.

This is all just a part of the misinformation and misinterpretation, planted in and by the American press—with the tremendous help of *L'Express*, the slick and slanted French magazine which is the voice of the Mendes-France socialists of the extreme Left—with which Soustelle and his associates have had to contend. Against this barrage of smear and trouble-making he has maintained dignity, intellectual honesty, patriotic determination, and unrivalled industriousness that is a lifelong habit, and a firm humanitarianism.

"If a just policy exists for Algeria," he has written, "it is integration. The equality of rights between Europeans and Moslems requires the renunciation of all racial discrimination, under whatever pretext it may exist. This moral aspiration carries with it a social aspiration as well; the raising of living standards of the groups until now disinherited. This can be done only by the renunciation of their privileges by those who have until now occupied favored positions, and by a great effort on the part of France. Naturally, one cannot reduce integration to a formula that simple, but it is from this initial willingness that the rest must start."

In his memoirs, *For And Against All*, and *Loved And Suffering Algeria*, his policy towards Algeria is set forth with clarity and sincerity. And that

policy is a far cry from the "all or nothing," and "keeping Algeria at any price," to which it was reduced by the *New York Times* of June 15, 1958. In fact, Soustelle himself has once complained of the way his words are so widely twisted: "In twenty speeches and a hundred articles I have tried to make it clear. Yet there are those who pretend not to understand or who confound integration, which I foresee, with assimilation, which I reject."

As early as June 28, 1955, Soustelle summed up the objective which he has supported ever since: "The ethnological, linguistic, and religious identity of Algeria must be and shall be respected, without hindering her taking her place as a true French province in the domains of society, politics, and administration." In such a discussion the question of sovereignty is important. "French sovereignty in Algeria," he wrote, "does not signify the sovereignty of Frenchmen of Algeria, nor of Europeans over Moslems. It signifies that Algeria is a land of French sovereignty where all inhabitants are French citizens with equal rights, participating along constitutional forms in the exercising of French sovereignty."

It is a bold ideal, and a costly but courageous undertaking. Besides all of the normal political and economic obstacles to its achievement—which Soustelle's inspired leadership and determination might be able to overcome—there are three abnormal difficulties to be faced. They are the opposition of the Communists, of the United States Government, and of Senator John Kennedy. Or is that only one?

ANSWERS BY SOUSTELLE

To Questions From Our Readers

Question: According to *Look*, November 25, 1958, you are "the most dangerous man in France." Why do you feel that such an article was written in the United States?

Answer: I am still wondering why. It's a fact, though, that many articles in the—theoretically—anti-Communist press in the States do their best to slander men and movements who are painted as "dangerous." Dangerous for whom? It is enough to cast a glance on the French leftist press to understand that I am dangerous...only for the Communists.

Question: In your opinion is General de Gaulle the most effective leader for France? Why?

Answer: Yes. Because his personal prestige and the faith a large majority of the French put in him enable him to unite a traditionally divided country.

Question: Is the press in France controlled by the government? If so, is control a temporary measure?

Answer: No. During the events of last May the government of M. Pflimlin controlled the press. General de Gaulle's first act was to free the press by suppressing the Censorship. Freedom of the press is by itself a good thing; at the same time it is true that some irresponsible or Communist-inspired newspapers do a lot of harm to France and to the free world.

Question: How long, Mr. Soustelle, have you been helping the de Gaulle Government?

Answer: I have been one of de Gaulle's followers and advisers for the last nineteen years, and a member of his government both in 1945 and 1958.

Question: As a possible settlement to the Algerian situation, would you accept the division of the country with forced separation of the nationalists and colons?

Answer: Partition of Algeria would be what I call a formula of despair. I doubt that a divided Algeria could survive and very much fear that such a division would only lead to a hopeless and atrocity-filled civil war.

Question: Would you favor leaving French troops or even reinforcing these troops in the Western Zone of Berlin if the United States dishonors its commitment and withdraws its forces?

Answer: I prefer not to take into account a hypothesis which casts such a grave doubt on the intentions of the United States government.

Question: Do you favor further withdrawal of or limitation of command of French troops or air and sea forces assigned to the NATO command?

Answer: I am in favor of a thorough reappraisal of the NATO framework of command.

Question: What is the attitude of the French Government toward Algeria? Their attitude towards Tunisia and Indochina appears to me to be different.

Answer: The attitude of the French

Answers By Soustelle

Government toward Algeria and toward Tunisia is different because these two countries are different. Algeria is and for 129 years has been a part of France, and never was nor is a separate nation or state; while Tunisia is a state which was linked to France by a treaty of protectorate.

The Algerians, both of metropolitan or of local origin, are French citizens, with the same rights, and with their own members of Parliament. France cannot let a foreign-led gang of terrorists separate that province from the metropolitan territory any more than any other part of France; nor would the United States yield Texas or Hawaii to an armed minority of killers.

Question: What reasons can you give for the increase in the number of Communist seats in the recent election? (This question referred to the municipal elections in March. Editor)

Answer: The increase in Communist seats in the recent municipal elections reflects a certain amount of dissatisfaction caused by the "austerity" decrees. It has no direct effect on Parliament and even less on government.

Question: What provisions are contained in the new French Constitution that would lead to a more stable government in France?

Answer: The whole constitution makes for a stable government, because it does not allow the Assembly to overthrow the Cabinet except under very strict conditions, and then makes it possible for the President to dissolve the Assembly and call for new elections.

Question: We would like to ask if you think or believe our Government is crazy?

Answer: No answer.

Question: Do you believe in coexistence with Soviet Russia? If not, how do you think we can solve the Berlin situation where we are now coexisting with the Communists?

Answer: We Europeans have coexisted for centuries with the Turkish empire, which sometimes threatened our very existence, until it eventually collapsed. The Berlin situation is an uneasy compromise, as is the whole situation of Germany. We must not permit it to be transformed into a Russian domination, nor can we abandon the free people of West Berlin.

Question: Why is the French Government asking for complete control of the French fleet now under NATO?

Answer: The French Government has asked for complete control of its Mediterranean fleet because we feel that we have heavy responsibilities of our own in that sea, which it is to the ultimate advantage of the free world that we should discharge.

Question: Will the Fifth Republic of France have a gold backed franc?

Answer: The "heavy franc" is defined by a fixed relationship with gold.

Question: Will France declare all Communists traitors? If not, why not?

Answer: Article 4 of the new constitution holds that all parties, in order to be allowed to exist, are subject to certain duties with regard to democracy and the nation. Laws have to be evolved to implement that constitutional provision.

Question: Will de Gaulle fight if attacked by Russian Communists?

Answer: Why, sure!

Answers By Soustelle

Question: You have been quoted as saying: "France is between two giants—Russia, a giant without a heart, and the United States, a giant without brains." In what way would you say the American foreign policy should be conducted if, to paraphrase you, the United States had brains?

Answer: Although I do not take the above quotation as a genuine expression of mine, I wish to answer the second paragraph. It seems to me that, the United States policy being founded on the necessary solidarity of the free world, it should take that necessity into account not only in western Europe but also in the Middle East and Africa.

Question: Would you be prepared to meet a delegation from the FLN and the so-called Algerian Government in Exile to discuss an armistice and constitutional reform leading to independence within a federal status with France, such a meeting to be held in the United States Embassy in Paris? (This question came from a member of the British House of Commons, as Mr. Soustelle knew. Editor)

Answer: If empowered by the government to do so, I would meet a delegation from the FLN to discuss a cease-fire. My government's unequivocal position is that no negotiations of a political nature could be held with the so-called "Algerian Government." I do not see any reason why such a meeting should be held in any embassy.

Question: What message from your wide experience can you send which, if widely circulated, might cause a flood of letters to our President and other officials, demanding that we recognize

our friends and treat them as friends and refrain from treating as friends those people who have chosen to be our enemies?

Answer: I would not wish to seem to be interfering with the internal policy of the United States.

Question: Mr. Jacques Soustelle, would you truly help us fight Communism and thus help save Berlin and eventually all Germany and Western Europe? We would truly love you and France for this and pray for many more like you.

Answer: I am glad to have this opportunity to tell a real American citizen that not only myself but many Frenchmen, especially the young generation, are prepared to resist any communist or other totalitarian domination. The fight we have led in Algeria for five years has prevented Communism from rooting itself in North Africa, from where it would have jeopardized the safety of continental Europe. We have shown that we are determined not to yield to any pressure, propaganda, or terrorism, and we will fight on.

Jacques Soustelle

There were far too many questions for Mr. Soustelle to be able to answer them all, without an utterly unreasonable demand on his time. And there were many he did answer which we have not published because they overlapped others, or no longer are as timely as when asked—and because of our own space limitations. But we do believe our selection, and the graciousness and frankness of Mr. Soustelle's replies, will have helped our readers to know better both the man and where he stands.

We Pause To Remark

In December, 1957, a French patrol in Algeria seized a number of papers from a Fellagha unit. Translated, one of these papers read as follows.

Army Of Liberation—Forces Of National Liberation
Command Headquarters of Mintaqal in the Department of Oran
From Captain Jabor to the Lieutenants Driss and Lakhdar:

I am sending with Lieutenant Mourad an American journalist. Here are some instructions so that you will make no mistakes in your conversations with him.

This journalist is an American and a colonialist. He is a big journalist with an important job and he has great influence on the American people and his government.

In reality he is against our revolutionary movement; he continues to believe in the French, consequently you must know how to talk to him.

He believes that we are fighting for religious ends. Tell him that we are fighting for independence and against colonialism, that we will not infringe on his beliefs and politics. Say that you are against Communism, that Communism has no influence on the Algerian people. He believes that the Algerian people are with France; you must convince him that they are with us, that the people are the FRONT and that they only say they are with France under pressure. Show him that all the people work; for example, set up guard drills for him, organize activities, even the women. Show him!

If he asks you any questions on how our government shall be formed in the

future, tell him that it will be exclusively Algerian, not Arab or Moslem. Tell him our people shall have liberty of action and shall elect their leaders, that our government will be republican and democratic and that we are not against anyone but against colonialism.

This newspaperman does not have much time. If he goes as far as Outpost 2 see that he does not stay there long. Let him live with the men, but before he meets them tell them how to speak to him and give them lessons on how to act.

The subject of all this solicitude, the newspaperman who was taken on this carefully stage-managed tour, was Joseph Kraft, of the *New York Times*. For the highly favorable report, "I Saw The Algerian Rebels In Action," which he then wrote about these FLN terrorists, published first in the *Saturday Evening Post* and then widely reprinted elsewhere, Joseph Kraft was recently awarded a prize by the Overseas Press Club of New York. At the very moment he was being thus honored, for helping to promote the pretense of the Algerian rebels that they have nothing to do with the Communists, Russia was recruiting Moslem "volunteers" in the Caucasus to aid these rebels, Communist Czechoslovakia was furnishing them arms, Chou En-lai was vowing the support of 650 million Chinese, FLN emissary Omar Oussedik was negotiating for arms in Peking, and twenty young Algerian rebel pilots were already in training in Red China. As Bob Morris has so aptly put it, "no wonder we are losing."

AN INTERESTING LETTER

Oxford University, England
8th May, '59

The Editor
THE SATURDAY EVENING POST
Independence Square
Philadelphia 5, Pa., U.S.A.

Sir:

On the premise that the *Post* for which I have much admiration and affection is dedicated to the pursuit of truth, not to the promotion of a smear, I venture to suggest a misstatement in your issue of 18th April. In his Princeton romance ('Bright Young Boss of Princeton') your contributing editor, Mr. Harold H. Martin, wrote that 'Halton, on the eve of his departure,' observed that 'three individuals in his opinion deserved the title of anti-Christ: Martin Luther, Margaret Sanger, and Robert Goheen.' Neither on the eve of my departure for Oxford not at any time have I conceived or expressed, publicly or privately, such a curiously amusing trinity. However, several months before I said 'Farewell, Sweet Princeton,' a member of the University, in an abortive effort to embarrass me, did invent this howler and inserted it in that section of the gilded press known as THE DAILY PRINCETONIAN. I dealt with the calumny publicly at the time. I think it a pity that Mr. Martin, neglecting his home-work, fell for such obvious nonsense. This kind of irresponsible journalism which you, sir, must deplore does monstrous disservice to the *Post* and its readers.

I should be delighted to offer you or Harold H. Martin \$1000. for any evidence, suitable for a court, that I made such

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a statement. Did I write it or say it? Where and on what date? Name one person who heard me say it. Produce one document in which I wrote it. The alternative ought to be an apology given the same prominence in the Post as the original untruth. Even Savonarola has a right to his reputation.

'Anti-Christ,' in my judgment, is the kind of strong expression one ought to reserve for Godless intrinsic evils like Communism, say. Perhaps this is why I took such a firm position on the appearance of Alger Hiss at Princeton in April 1956. *Less than a fortnight after I affirmed that the convicted, unrepentant perjurer stands outside the tradition and has nothing to say to a community engaged in the quest for truth, the Board of Trustees of Princeton University voted my censure.* Robert Goheen is certainly not anti-Christ; but he is, like so many presidents of private schools, a puppet of Trustees. When they pull the strings, he could dance all night. Had he not promised to implement the Trustees' arbitrary decision, dictated in part by the effect of my action on Annual Giving, he might not have been invested as President of Princeton. He knows it, I know it, and that is all that really matters.

The issue at Princeton was and is primarily academic, not religious. When I quote a Princeton professor who has conditioned uncritical undergraduate minds for twenty-five years with the false teaching that Christianity is an opiate and a dream and God a myth and an illusion, and when I quote a Princeton Professor of Art and Archaeology for thirty-eight years who thinks that St. Thomas Aquinas is the Mother of God, I expect President Goheen and the Trustees to come up with a more brilliant or witty expression than academic freedom or an angry insistence that Mrs. Goheen and the children are Catholic. I think it disgraceful that Princeton and the President (and now Mr. Martin) have introduced the quite irrelevant religious belief of Dr. Goheen's family. *I'm concerned with ideas and consequences.* If the President's wife is

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Catholic, this is a purely personal matter; if, as heiress to Hercules Powder, she's loaded, I say more power to her; but in the Princeton academic context both blessings are irrelevant. Though perhaps the Trustees are delighted that the President, even as a poor young scholar, was not intolerant of wealth, I could be just as irrelevant and insist that my brother doesn't like very dry martinis, and that my great aunt, who may have been in her heart of hearts a Methusalite, adored kippers. I believe my mother's stole is Russian, her wrist watch conceived by a Calvinist in Genève, and the whole family eats Jaffa oranges from Israel. So what?

I exposed intellectual mediocrity, moral and political subversion, and intolerable nonsense in the groves of Princeton's academic Wonderland. This was my sin for which the University had no absolution: I put Truth before Togetherness. Less than 72 hours after the announcement of my honorary degree in reverse, I issued 24 pages of summary documentation to more than 45 members of the press. Within 6 months a half million copies were in print. Shame on Mr. Martin for a third-rate research job. A freshman at Princeton would be advised to go to Yale for less than that.

I did learn from the essay in the Post that Dr. Goheen's father 'believed that thoughts could be transmitted to the subconscious mind during sleep; and (that) he would sometimes pass through the children's ward in his hospital, gently admonishing the sleeping youngsters not to wet the bed.' If it isn't too late, would somebody at the Post be good enough to read this letter, gently, over and over again to a nodding Harold Martin? Had he matched 'Savonarola's zeal for reform' with a similar enthusiasm for accurate reporting, he too might have been spared embarrassment.

(Signed) *Father Hugh Halton, O.P.*

Father Hugh Halton, O.P., M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)



Coexistence, Final Stage

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

J. B. MATTHEWS

Our title for this feature is, admittedly, something of a misnomer this month. The book reviews have not been floated in a running stream of comment concerning the present state of production or criticism in this best of all possible writers' worlds. If the same contributor, kindly pinch-bitting herewith, begins turning out this section regularly for us, we are going to have to change either its form or his. Postponing that day of decision, we offer you this time simply some excellent book reviews, by the one and only Dr. J. B. Matthews.

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM. *Germany and the East-West Crisis: The Decisive Challenge to American Policy*. Pp. 237. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1959. \$3.75.

It is the perfect antidote to Walter Lippmann, George F. Kennan, and Dwight D. Eisenhower. For a brand new and winning American policy vis-a-vis the Communist threat, time is running out; and, Mr. Schlamme laments, it may already be too late.

William S. Schlamme's qualifications for writing this book are of the highest order. Equally at home in the cultures of the Old World and the New, Mr. Schlamme has brought insights gained from first-hand experience to the writing of *Germany and the East-West Crisis*. His career as editor and journalist in both Central Europe and the United States has extended over a whole generation and is matched by few, if any, of his contemporaries in the field of social and political criticism.

Mr. Schlamme makes it eloquently clear that the so-called free world confronts the daily peril that Washington, with its ignorance of Communist strategy, may enter into some binding agreement with the Kremlin which will amount to the ultimate error.

In addition to its profound analyses of the world crisis toward which we are now drifting, Mr. Schlamme's book possesses the timeliness of tomorrow morning's newspapers.

Basic in Mr. Schlamme's program for the survival of the West is that the United States shall not for any *quid pro quo* barter away all or any part of the strategic advantage accruing from the unconditional possession of its nuclear weapons. From that proposition, it naturally follows that the West must become "believably willing to fight a war if there is no other way to stop and turn back the advance of communism." Corollary thereto is a complete about-face by Mr. Eisenhower: there must be no more speeches in which he says that "war is unthinkable."

Anyone who wishes to invest with new meaning the day-by-day headlines of the news dispatches out of Geneva, Berlin, and Moscow will make haste to buy and read this impassioned plea from the pen of William S. Schlamme.

Mr. Schlamme notes the existence of

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a "massive conspiracy of the world's nuclear scientists" aiming at atomic disarmament by both sides in the Cold War. No other propaganda campaign in Soviet history has ever been so intensively and extensively conducted by Soviet agents.

On January 13, 1958, Professor Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize winner from the California Institute of Technology, handed the secretary-general of the United Nations a petition signed by 9,253 scientists of forty-four nations, demanding the cessation of all nuclear-weapons testing. At the head of this impressive procession was the venerable medical missionary, Albert Schweitzer. Full Soviet approval of this propaganda project was indicated beyond any doubt by the fact that the largest single bloc of signers among the 9,253 scientists was that of Iron-Curtain Romania which numbered 2,749. The Soviet Academy of Sciences was represented by 216 signers.

In the United States today, this massive campaign is carried on by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, among whose leadership we find Professor Linus Pauling. This Sane Nuclear Policy Committee is a united front organization composed of pacifists, assorted socialists, clergymen, social workers, liberals, fellow travelers, and Communists. The National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy has branches in all the major cities of the United States, with more than seventy neighborhood committees in New York City alone.

Anti-Communists, Mr. Schlamm points out, fear the negotiation of an East-West pact which calls for atomic disarmament on the ground that the Communist governments could not be

trusted to live up to such an agreement. On the contrary, Mr. Schlamm believes that such an East-West treaty could be the exception to the rule of Soviet violation of its solemn treaty obligations and that, for once, the Soviet government would observe its treaty commitments to the last jot and tittle.

By the faithful honoring of an atomic disarmament treaty, and with the West's atomic hands tied, the Soviet imperialists would be freed of all the restraints imposed upon them by the West's nuclear weapons; and all of Europe would then sink "unavoidably under the gigantic weight of a 'conventional' Soviet army." Mr. Schlamm states that Soviet superiority in battle-ready divisions on the European continent is at the ratio of 24 to 1. The present balance of power which is the sole deterrent against the ambitions of the Soviet imperialists is a balance which would disappear in the twinkling of an eye, if and when nuclear weapons were outlawed by an East-West multilateral treaty. Khrushchev, or his successor, relying on his gigantic superiority in "conventional" military power, would be in a position to blackmail his way across Europe to the shores of the Atlantic—NATO or no NATO. Mr. Schlamm demolishes the NATO concept of Western defense, with or without the outlawry of nuclear bombs.

Starry-eyed liberals have spent a large part of their time and writing during the past forty-one years in expectations and predictions that the Soviets were about to have a change of heart with respect to the fundamentals of expansionism and world conquest. It has never been difficult for the Communist conspirators to feed the liberal illusion that the Soviet change of heart was just

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around the corner. With the Soviet signature on an atomic disarmament treaty, the pious pacifists and the not-so-pious scientists-turned-politicians could be expected to proclaim to all the world that the day-dream of peaceful coexistence had finally become a reality.

Mr. Schlamm is fully aware that one of the most exasperating phenomena of the present period is the fact that the operating personnel of the Communist-line apparatus includes men and women of good will. Their influence in the formation of pro-Soviet public opinion is directly proportionate to their reputations for piety, or so the Communist high command believes and hopes. Nevertheless and notwithstanding their motivations—good, bad, or indifferent—are wholly irrelevant.

Many anti-Communists shy away from mentioning the names of allegedly innocent non-Communists who support the objectives of the world conspiracy. The shyness of such anti-Communists is due in many instances to their failure adequately to comprehend the seriousness of the Communist threat which, in Mr. Schlamm's view, is second to none in the history of the human race. Rejecting this softness of method, Mr. Schlamm does not draw back from the unpleasant necessity of describing the roles of Albert Schweitzer and John C. Bennett as leading figures in the undermining of the morale of the West. In fact, he dedicates a chapter of *Germany and the East-West Crisis* to the Rev. Prof. John C. Bennett, Dean of Union Theological Seminary and representative spokesman for a large section of the Protestant clergy in the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches.

Mr. Schlamm challenges Professor

Bennett on the latter's home ground; namely, that of the moral imperative. With respect to the hierarchy of moral values, Professor Bennett is a highly disturbing reflection of a strong trend in Protestant Christianity. In a recent address to the International Congregational Council, Professor Bennett said: "We should put the prevention of general war ahead of the defeat of communist power, and a real acceptance of coexistence ahead of victory in the cold war." Concealed in this proposal of the eminent theologian are an announcement of surrender to moral defeatism and the acceptance of world conquest by the Soviet imperialists. Professor Bennett's intentions are beside the point; what counts is what he said. Mr. Schlamm is entirely correct in saying that the National Council of Churches, for which Professor Bennett speaks, is "without much doubt one of the three or four most powerful political lobbies in the nation."

Such are some of the obstacles which lie athwart the path of the West's ultimate victory over the Communist East. Mr. Schlamm's prescription for the dangerously ailing West must be filled without delay or the patient will be beyond help.

If, in some way, Mr. Schlamm's historic document could receive the attention it merits, it might make all the difference in the world.

JULES DUBOIS. *Fidel Castro*. Pp. 391. Indianapolis, New York: The New Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1959. \$5.00.

Fidel Castro by Jules Dubois will come as a shock to those who think of the *Chicago Tribune* as a journal of

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solid conservatism. Jules Dubois is the great newspaper's Latin-American correspondent.

As a press agent for Cuba's new dictator, Dubois is second only to Herbert L. Matthews of the *New York Times*. When he was in New York some weeks ago receiving the plaudits of a Spanish speaking mob, Castro bestowed a medal upon Dubois — a dubious honor for services rendered.

The Dubois book was obviously thrown together in great haste for the purpose of capitalizing on Castro's current publicity. Unfortunately for Dubois' purpose, every day's news out of Cuba makes his book more and more ridiculous.

To a large extent, *Fidel Castro* is a compilation of quotations from speeches, manifestoes, and proclamations of the author's hero. Page after page is filled with the oratorical ranting of the youthful demagogue. To be exact, there are 161 full pages of quotations.

For every misdeed, outrage, and brutality which Castro has perpetrated, Dubois has a ready excuse.

When Castro exhibited complete contempt for his own earlier commitments to constitutional processes, Dubois offers "the lack of sufficient sleep" as an alibi. For his singular originality, Dubois deserves a medal. The judgments against Batista might have been softened if his sleeping habits had been investigated.

In another instance, Dubois quotes Castro as saying "we executed a ranch foreman who had accused tenant farmers and peasants of being pro-rebel, and who had increased the holdings of his landlord from ten acres to four hundred acres by taking the land of those he denounced." There are two things

wrong in this picture. In the first place, "tenant farmers" do not own the land on which they work. It is, therefore, impossible for a landlord to increase his "holdings" by taking what already belongs to him. In the second place, a landlord who owns only ten acres can hardly be described as rich. Nevertheless, Dubois comments on Castro's action, as follows: "Thus Castro was to become the Robin Hood of the Sierra Maestra and was to pursue later the same policy of taking from the rich to give to the poor." Taking from the rich to give to the poor and executing the hired help of the so-called rich may better be described as grand larceny and murder, which are typical acts of the Communists. Comparisons with Robin Hood do not acquit Castro of his crimes.

Kidnapping, which is punishable by death in the United States, is downgraded by Jules Dubois to "a psychological *faux pas*" — when United States military personnel and civilians are snatched by Castro. Furthermore, the kidnapping was a "stunt" of Brother Raul which, according to Dubois, relieves Brother Fidel of all responsibility for the crime.

With respect to the all-important question of whether Fidel and Raul Castro are Communists or not, Dubois says that he asked both of them and both categorically denied that they are Communists; and that is the sole evidence which Dubois presents. Most certainly Dubois is not naive; but with equal certainty he is relying on the naivete of his readers when he asks them to accept the denials of the Castro brothers as competent evidence. When Dubois questioned Raul Castro about his participation in a Communist Youth

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Congress in Vienna and about other trips behind the Iron Curtain, Raul answered that he liked to travel.

Dubois' treatment of the case of Ernesto De la Fe reveals much with respect to the question of Communists in the Castro reign of terror. In the summer of 1954, De la Fe resigned from the Batista cabinet over the issue of Communist infiltration of the government, the labor unions, and other institutions of Cuban society. Before the end of that year, De la Fe had assumed the duties of secretary-general of a Latin-American anti-Communist organization. This reviewer has ample documentary proof of the foregoing statements concerning De la Fe. Dubois states that a Cuban newspaper columnist was arrested and "almost tortured to death" while De la Fe was a member of Batista's cabinet, implying that De la Fe was in some way responsible for the atrocity. Dubois says that De la Fe had "lately" become secretary-general of an anti-Communist organization. Admittedly, the word "lately" is somewhat ambiguous, but hardly enough so to cover a period of more than four years. On June 1, 1959, one of Castro's military courts sentenced De la Fe to a prison term of fifteen years. Such is the fate of Latin America's most distinguished anti-Communist under the Castro dictatorship.

LOUISE PETTIBONE SMITH. *Torch of Liberty*. Pp. 448. New York: Dwight-King, Publishers, Inc., 1959. 5.00.

This is a unique book whose extraordinary character is due to the uniquely successful nature of the organization whose history it purports to trace. It is

a book about a Communist organization, written from the Communist viewpoint. Nothing like it has ever before been published.

The author, Louise Pettibone Smith, is Professor Emerita of Wellesley College. From 1915 until 1953, Professor Smith was a member of the Department of Biblical History at Wellesley. *Torch of Liberty* is her account of the first twenty-five years of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as seen through the eyes of one of the most active Communist collaborators in this country. For the past eight years, Professor Smith has served as honorary co-chairman of the ACPFB, and has travelled widely throughout the United States to promote the interests of this unique Communist apparatus.

No other unit of the Communist network has a record of comparable effectiveness. Few Communist organizations last longer than five years. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has passed its twenty-fifth birthday and is still going strong.

On April 22, 1953, the Attorney General of the United States filed a petition with the Subversive Activities Control Board for an order to require the ACPFB to register as a Communist-front organization. More than four years later, the Subversive Activities Control Board issued a "recommended decision," written by Hearing Examiner Edward M. Morrissey whose conclusion reads as follows: "... the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is directed, dominated and controlled by the Communist Party of the United States. ..." Mr. Morrissey's conclusion, based on the voluminous testimony of many witnesses, was one which

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could have been reached by any unbiased citizen twenty years earlier. The Dies Committee, in fact, received and published testimony in August, 1938, naming the ACPFB as a Communist organization.

Despite the Dies Committee evidence, or perhaps because of it, President Franklin D. Roosevelt sent the following greeting to the ACPFB on March 2, 1940: "On the occasion of its Fourth Annual Conference, I am glad to greet the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born . . . Every American wishes it success." In pretending to speak for "every American," Roosevelt told a deliberate lie.

On October 28, 1944, more than ten years after the ACPFB was launched on its subversive course, the organization received messages of greeting from General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Vice President Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, and United States Senator Robert F. Wagner.

In her *Torch of Liberty*, Professor Louise Pettibone Smith records these

and other long forgotten facts which go far toward indicating the route by which we have travelled in reaching the present precarious position we occupy vis-a-vis the international Communist threat.

In the course of its twenty-five-year history of subversion, the ACPFB has received the public support of nineteen United States senators and thirty members of the United States House of Representatives. Among the individuals who have been affiliated with the organization, there have been 302 educators including 33 presidents of colleges, universities, and theological seminaries. Protestant clergymen affiliated with the ACPFB number 205; writers 105; labor union officials 102; and lawyers 168. This is a record unequalled by any other Communist organization.

The names of several hundred of these affiliated individuals are listed in Professor Smith's *Torch of Liberty*. The book is obviously an important addition to the original sources of the Communist movement.

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CONFETTI

We have just heard about a family in Texas that is having a terrible time getting any water for the household. They keep digging wells, but no matter where they dig nothing comes up but oil.

* * *

The following inscription is said to be on a cemetery stone, which is said to be in Aurora Falls. We don't know where Aurora Falls is, and we guarantee nothing, but we do like the epitaph:

"Sacred to the memory of Jared Bates. His widow aged 24 lives at 7 Elm Street, has every qualification for a good wife, and yearns to be comforted."

* * *

And then there was the woman who bought fifty pounds of steel wool? Says she's going to knit a stove.

* * *

Message inside a Chinese fortune cookie: "Please disregard previous cookie."

* * *

Doctor, to patient's wife: "I don't like the looks of your husband."

Wife: "I don't either, but he's all that was available."

* * *

A bewildered man entered a ladies specialty shop and told the salesgirl:

"I want a corset for my wife."

"What bust?" the girl asked.

"Nothing," replied the man. "It just wore out."

* * *

One blistering hot day when they had guests, a mother asked her four-year-old son to say the blessing. "But, Mother, I don't know what to say," he protested.

"Oh, just say what you've heard me say," she told him.

Obediently he bowed his little head and said: "Oh, Lord, why did I invite these people here on a hot day like this?"

Lost in one of London's famous fogs, an American tourist finally heard footsteps. He called out: "Could you please tell me where I'm going?"

"Into the canal," replied an unhappy voice from the mist. "I've just come out."

* * *

An actress at a cocktail party, seeing an authoress whom she disliked, went over to congratulate her on her latest book.

"I enjoyed it, my dear," the actress cooed. "Who wrote it for you?"

"Darling!" the authoress cooed in return. "I'm so glad you liked it. Who read it to you?"

* * *

A fellow who owned a ranch out west was thrown from a horse, which resulted in a trip to the hospital. A few days later one friend asked another: "Did old Bill finally get all right?"

"Well, no," replied the second. "He ain't all right, but he's back like he used to be."

* * *

Two fleas had just finished a hard day at the circus. Said one: "Shall we hop home, or take a dog?"

* * *

Capper's Weekly tells about the missionary who was traveling alone through the jungle when he met a huge lion. Flight was hopeless. He fell to his knees in anxious prayer. A few moments later he was greatly comforted to see the lion on its knees beside him.

"Dear Brother," said the relieved missionary, "how delightful it is to join you in prayer when a moment ago I feared for my life."

"Don't interrupt," said the lion tersely. "I always say grace before a meal."

Please, Mr. President, Don't Go

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These pocket petitions are issued by the

Committee Against Summit Entanglements

The Committee respectfully petitions the President of the United States not to attend a "summit conference" with the tyrants of the Kremlin, for the following reasons.

1. It will further increase Soviet prestige.
2. It will further discourage, and weaken the will to resist, of anti-Communists everywhere.
3. It will play right into the hands of all of the appeasement-minded politicians, and weaken the position of the firm anti-Communist statesmen, in all the governmental circles of the remaining free world.
4. The results of the last "summit conference" have proved to be huge gains for the Soviets, and huge losses for the anti-Communist forces. We should be guided by this experience.
5. Experience has further and fully demonstrated that any agreements which the Soviets do make will be ignored or broken, as soon as it suits their convenience.
6. The only questions raised or discussed will be as to *how far* we will give in to Soviet demands. Under such conditions we have all to lose and nothing to gain.
7. The President of the United States is seriously handicapped, in bargaining in any such conference with a man like Khrushchev. The President's commitments are not final, but must later be ratified by the Senate, as is well known to the Soviet Premier, who can himself speak with dictatorial authority.
8. It is an unconstitutional way for an American President to conduct foreign affairs. Treaties must be entered into with the *advice and consent* of the Senate. Even if retroactive consent is later obtained, both Senate and Executive are violating the Constitution as to the *advice* of the Senate during the negotiations.
9. Syngman Rhee is correct that "what is morally wrong can never be politically right." It is morally wrong to fraternize with murderers.
10. And Jacques Soustelle is correct that, when dealing with the Soviets, always or on any issue, "to negotiate is to surrender."

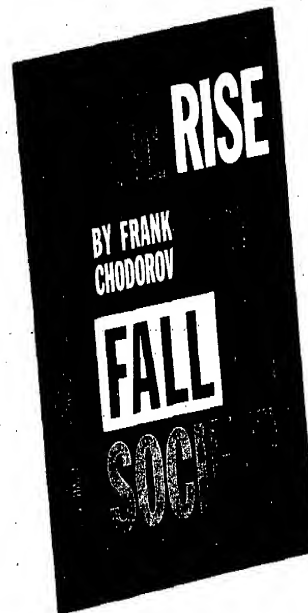
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United States citizens have on their hands a continuing struggle to keep control of the lifeline of their national defense and the backbone of their ocean commerce—the United States-built and United States-owned Panama Canal.

Nasser set a pattern for canal seizure at Suez in 1956. Although legally inapplicable to the Panama Canal, the Nasser example of expropriation delighted Panamanian radicals.

Seriousness of the situation at the Isthmus was brought home to the United States by the Nixon incidents in Lima and Caracas in May, 1958 and by almost coincident outbreaks of wild disorders in Panama, with defiant challenging of United States sovereignty over the Canal Zone, preceded by a Panamanian flag-waving "invasion" of the Zone heralded to the world as "Operation Sovereignty."

The mounting crises since 1956 demand that the whole story of Panama be told. For, without knowledge of that history, neither North Americans nor Panamanians can reach sound and just conclusions as to their rights, responsibilities and obligations when the recurring problems of the Isthmian area demand solution.

Earl Harding tells the "whole story of Panama" for the first time—with the flair of a journalist, the insight of an historian, and the concern of an aroused citizen.

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